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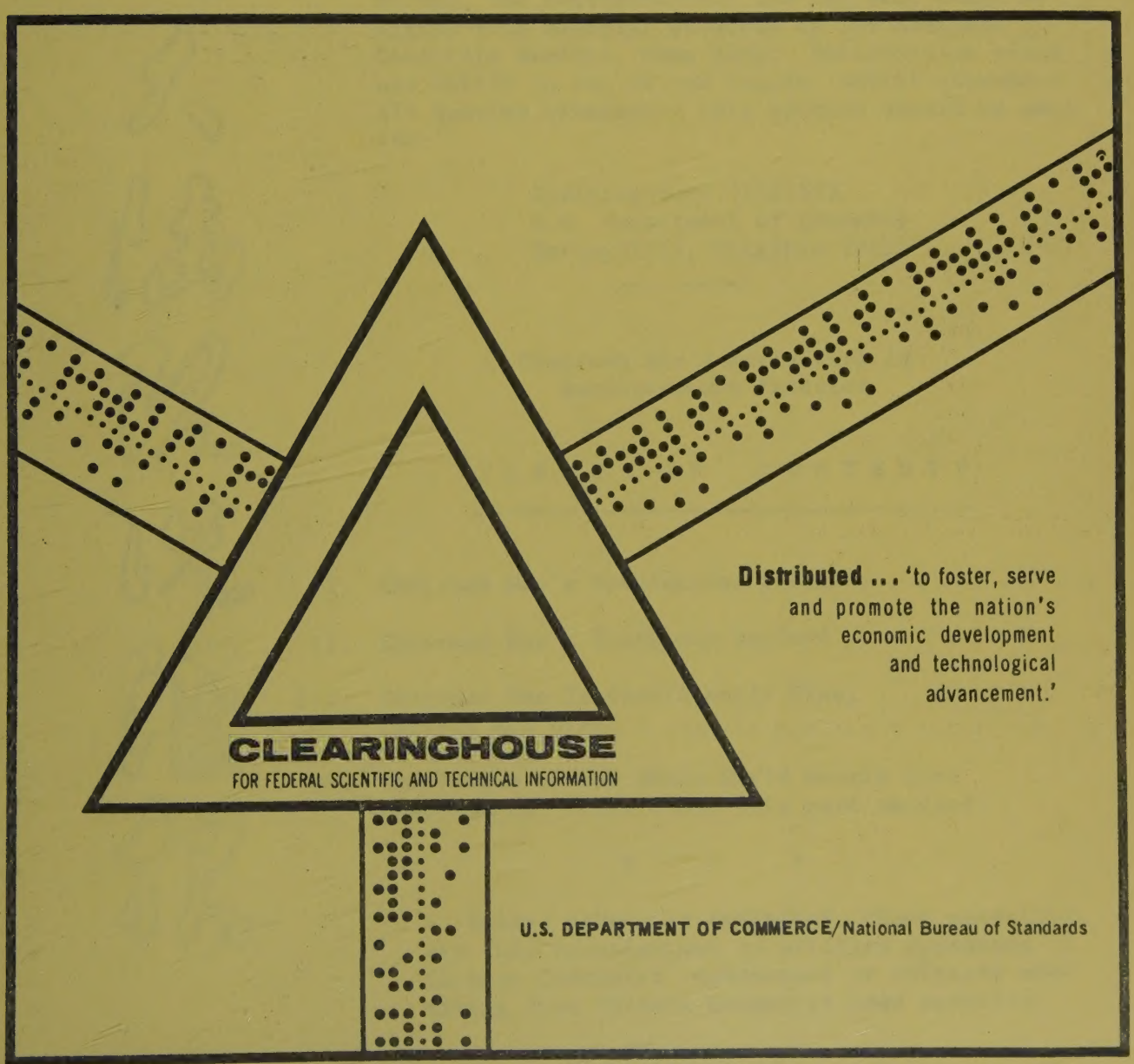
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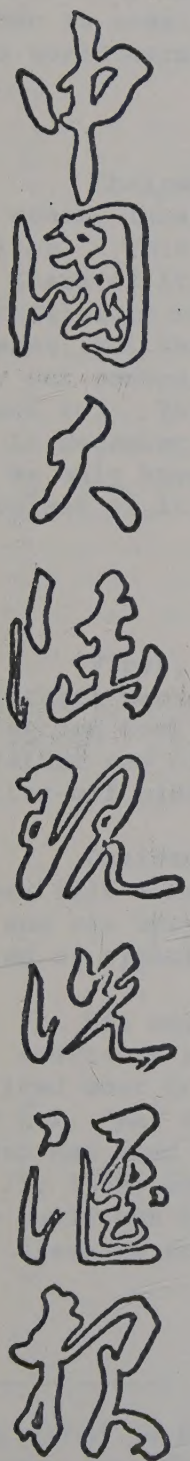

Current Background

American Consulate General
Hong Kong

No. 900
January 30, 1970

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Chairman Mao's Activities in Revolutionary Practice

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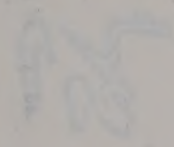

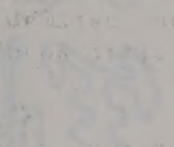
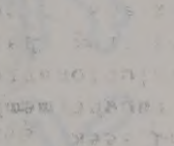
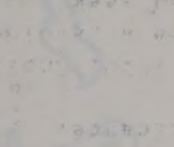
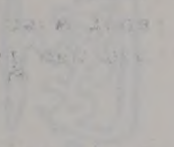
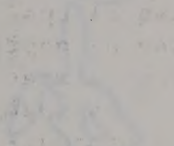
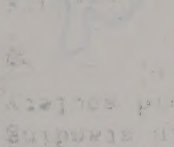
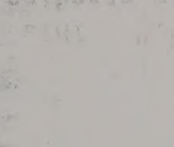

Chairman Mao's Activities in Revolutionary Practice*

This discussion is divided into four parts: (I) Chairman Mao's revolutionary family; (II) Chairman Mao's youth and boyhood; (III) Chairman Mao is consistently wise, correct and great; (IV) the people of the whole world warmly love Chairman Mao.

(I) Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Family

Chairman Mao was born on December 26, 1893 (the 29th day of the 11th month, lunar calendar) at Shaoshanch'ung, Hsiangt'an hsien, Honan province. This 26th day is kept secret from foreigners, because once they learn of it, they will hold meetings to celebrate it and send us congratulatory messages. It would be a discourtesy for us to ignore their messages, but should we acknowledge their receipt with thanks, this would imply our consent to celebrating his birthday which Chairman Mao is firmly opposed to. Therefore, we only tell people in other countries that he was born in December, and should they ask for the exact date, we would just say that we only know his birthday according to the lunar calendar and the equivalent of it in Gregorian calendar has not been worked out.

The Two Characteristics of Chairman Mao's Family

First, it was a family of the working people. Chairman Mao's forefathers were all peasants and laborers, and every member of the family in question took part in labor. His grandfather was a poor peasant, and his father was also a poor peasant when he was young, though he later became a better-off middle peasant as we could see from his old hime.

Chairman Mao's father was called Mao Shun-sheng (毛顺生 October 1870 - March 1920). An illiterate, he worked diligently all his life and was very strict with the management of the affairs of his family. He died of typhoid in 1920 at the age of 50.

His mother was surnamed Wen (1867-October 1919). She was dignified, courteous and just and she attended to housework round the year. She liked most to help the poor peasants and the peasants respected and loved her. She died of acute tonsilitis in 1919 at the age of 52. Chairman Mao has fond memories of his mother. When he returned to Shaoshan on June 25, 1959, and saw the photographs of his father and mother, he said: "They would not have to die if they were attacked by those diseases today. Their diseases are now easy to cure. Because medical facilities were very

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* Published in booklet form with the title "Material for Study" on the cover; no other publication data given, but from context apparently written in 1966.--CB Editor

poor at that time, they died although they were not very old." This statement of Chairman Mao's fully reflected the difference in standing of the working people in the new and old society. In the old society, life was so hard that they had no money for medical treatment.

Chairman Mao was brought up in such a family of the ordinary working people. He took part in labor when he was young. Because he was brought up among the working people, he cherishes most and is most sympathetic to the working people. He was greatly influenced by upbringing in such a family, and he was especially greatly influenced by the excellent character of his mother when he was a boy.

In the international communist movement, only Chairman Mao is a leader born of a peasant and only Chairman Mao took part in labor when he was young. This is an amazing fact of international significance.

Second, it was a revolutionary family. Prior to 1920, Chairman Mao's family was a laborer's family, but after 1920 it became a revolutionary family. Chairman Mao left home in 1910 to learn and seek revolutionary truth. After he came home in 1920, he first taught members of his own family to take part in revolution, thus making revolutionaries and hardy revolutionaries of his whole family. Six martyrs from Chairman Mao's family laid down their lives in the cause of liberating the Chinese people. These six martyrs were:

Comrade Mao Tse-min (毛澤民), Chairman Mao's first younger brother who was born in 1896 and was three years younger than Chairman Mao. He was originally a peasant. After Chairman Mao came home, he first taught him to participate in the revolution. At that time, the family was under the management of Mao Tse-min. We know that a peasant at that time generally was loath to leave his home especially when he was quite well off. Once Comrade Mao Tse-min left, there would be nobody to look after the family. Chairman Mao took great pains to educate him that he must pay attention to the big family and could not just pay attention to the small family. At the time of national calamity, one must forsake the family for the nation and devote one's own strength to the fatherland and the revolution.

Educated by Chairman Mao, Mao Tse-min went to Changsha to take part in the revolution. He worked in the self-study university founded by Chairman Mao. In 1922, he joined the Party and became one of the earliest members of the Party which had only some 90 members at that time. After he joined the Party, Chairman Mao sent him to the Anyüan Colliery in Kiangsi to launch the workers' movement and to temper and remold himself in it. He once served as manager of the consumer cooperative of the Anyüan Workers' Club to raise funds for the Party and to shelter the work of the Party. In 1925, the Party sent him to Shanghai to serve as president of a publishing house and manager of the Changchiang Bookstore and to build a system for the distribution of Party publication.

After the failure of the 1927 Revolution, Mao Tse-min followed Chairman Mao to join the Red Army, and in 1930 he served as Director of the Logistics Department of the Red Army of Fukien-Kwangtung-Kiangsi Border Region--at that time called the Department of National Economy. In 1932 he went to Juichin in Kiangsi province to serve as President of the National Bank of the Central Worker-Peasant Democratic Government of the Soviet Area--the first bank president of our Party.

Mao Tse-min joined the Long March in 1934, and after his arrival at North Shensi in October 1935, he served as Minister of National Economy (equivalent to Minister of Finance nowadays) of the Central Government. In 1938, the Party sent him to Sinkiang to carry out work for the anti-Japanese national united front. He was at that time one of the responsible persons of our Party in Sinkiang, and he carried out a lot of work.

In September 1942, at the latter stage of the second anti-communist high tide, the Kuomintang reactionaries in Sinkiang arrested him. More than 150 persons were arrested at that time. It was entirely legitimate for us to work in Sinkiang, but Chiang Kai-shek perfidiously and unscrupulously arrested our comrades.

At that time, Comrade Mao Tse-min and Comrade Ch'en T'an-ch'iu (陈潭秋) established an underground Party branch in the prison to carry out a heroic struggle against the reactionaries. The historical background of the film People of Two Generations was the struggle of Comrades Mao Tse-min and Ch'en T'an-ch'iu against the reactionaries. At that time, their struggle was heroic and arduous, and after more than one year of struggle, Comrade Mao Tse-min was murdered in September 1943 by the Kuomintang with poisoned wine, and he died at the age of 47.

When we called on the old comrades and his relatives last year, they declared: Comrade Mao Tse-min's sacrifice was most tragic. He was tortured by the enemy every day, and his condition can well be imagined by everybody.

Comrade Mao Tse-t'an (毛泽覃), Chairman Mao's younger brother who was born in 1905 and was 13 years younger than Chairman Mao. In 1918, Chairman Mao arranged schooling for him in Changsha, and in 1922, he studied in the makeup class of the self-study university founded by Chairman Mao. Hsia Ming-han (夏明翰) was in the same class. In 1923, Chairman Mao sent Comrade Mao Tse-t'an to Shuik'ou Mountain, Ch'ang-ning, Hunan, to launch the workers' movement. It was apparent that Chairman Mao fostered the members of his family in a planned manner. Since all of them were from the countryside, they were later sent and tempered among the workers.

Comrade Mao Tse-t'an joined the Party in 1924 and the following year he returned to Changsha to serve as Secretary of the Changsha District Committee of the Socialist Youth League (at the age of 20). In 1927, he took part in the Autumn Harvest Uprising, went together with Chairman Mao

to the Chingkang Mountains, and was with the Third Battalion of Chairman Mao's Regiment. After serving as Party representative in the Red Militia Brigade, Secretary of a central hsien committee (equivalent to secretary of a district committee nowadays), Commander of the Main Division of the Red Army and an army political commissar (according to some people, political commissar to a column), he heroically laid down his life in April 1935 when fighting at the Ch'angting area east of Juichin at the age of 30 or less.

Comrade Mao Tse-t'an was a good cadre of our Party who had been tested in a number of ways. Because he was educated by Chairman Mao at an early date and he was capable and modest, he was greatly respected by his comrades. After Wang Ming (王明) came in 1931, he dealt sectarian blows at the comrades supporting Chairman Mao, and his Left opportunism dealt with comrades as though they were enemies. Although Mao Tse-t'an and other comrades were hit and edged out and finally dismissed, yet they were loyal to the Party and made no complaint. The old comrades recalled: "At that time, they fought against the Kuomintang reactionaries in the day time, but were struggled against by Left opportunism in the evening." Under such circumstances, Comrade Mao Tse-t'an was sternly tested until he heroically laid down his life. The fact that he had been wronged was not brought to light until the rectification campaign in 1942.

Comrade Mao Tse-chien (毛澤建), Chairman Mao's younger sister (born in 1906). She was originally Chairman Mao's cousin. Because she had to lead the life of a beggar at the age of six, and there was no daughter in Chairman Mao's family, she was adopted by Chairman Mao's mother and brought up as though she was her own daughter.

When Chairman Mao came home in 1920, he brought her to Changsha and sent her to the No. 3 Normal School for Women in Hengyang. This school was one of the schools in Hunan in which Chairman Mao first built the Party, and it trained many cadres for the revolution.

Comrade Mao Tse-chien joined the Party in 1923 (at the age of 18). After she joined the Party, she was sent to launch study, women and peasant movements. She adopted the name of Mao Ta-hsiang (毛达湘) and was quite well known for her work in the Hsiangt'an area.

In February 1928, she participated in the South Hunan Insurrection led by Comrades Chu Te and Lin Piao, that is, the Year End Insurrection. At that time, she was the woman director at Laiyang. After Comrades Chu Te and Lin Piao went to the Chingkang Mountains, she stayed behind in South Hunan to carry out armed struggle as the leader of a guerrilla band, thus becoming the first woman leader of such a band.

At the time of fighting the reactionaries in 1929, she was arrested together with her husband, Comrade Ch'en Min (陈民), who was murdered on the spot. At that time, she was sent to prison in Hengshan hsien and was put to all kinds of tortures. Learning that she was Chairman Mao's younger sister, the enemy tried to buy her over, but she remained loyal to the Party.

Later, she was carried off from the jail by a guerrilla band with the enemy hot in pursuit. Because she was seriously wounded and was unable to move freely, she firmly asked that she be left behind so as to cover the withdrawal of her comrades. She was arrested the second time and was shot at Hengshan in August 1929 at the age of less than 24. The reactionaries declared at that time that nobody would be allowed to claim her corpse, but the masses of the place carried off her corpse at the risk of their lives and buried her at the foot of the Fenghuang Mountain at Nanyen. In memory of this martyr, the people of Hsingt'an composed a play called "Mao Ta-hsiang" to portray the struggle of Comrade Mao Tse-chien.

Comrade Yang K'ai-hui (杨开慧), Chairman Mao's wife (born in 1901). Married to Chairman Mao in 1921, she joined the Party in the same year and was one of the earliest members of the Socialist Youth League and the Communist Party. Later, she worked as messenger and secretary of the Hunan Provincial Committee. In 1925, she accompanied Chairman Mao to Shaoshan to launch the peasants' movement, and she served as a teacher in the peasants' evening school. She was in good health and she worked vigorously. In the past, women were not allowed to enter ancestral halls in the old society. She and Chairman Mao waged struggle against the feudal forces by mobilizing the women to enter the ancestral halls and working among the women.

After the failure of the Great Revolution in 1927, Chairman Mao went to the Chingkang Mountains, and she stayed behind in Changsha to carry out underground work. She was arrested in 1930, and the enemy wanted her to divorce Chairman Mao. She firmly refused to do so because she felt that this was not a question bearing on wedlock but one bearing on Party affairs. In prison, she was tortured and beaten up three times by the Kuomintang reactionaries. By displaying the hardiness of our Party in work style, she brought the conspiracy of the enemy to ignominious defeat. In the recent four clean-ups campaign, this was verified by a person who served as prison superintendent at that time. Comrade Yang K'ai-hui was loyal to the Party in prison, and she never wavered or submitted to the enemy. She was murdered outside the Liuyang Gate in Changsha in 1931 at the age of 29.

Comrade Mao An-ying (毛岸英), Chairman Mao's eldest son. Born at Ch'ingshuit'ang of Changsha in 1922, he was arrested and imprisoned together with his mother in 1930. Later, the Party devised ways and means to secure his release. In 1931, he went together with his younger brother Mao An-ch'in (毛岸勤) to Shanghai to establish ties with the Party. Because the underground organ of the Party had been destroyed at that time, he and his younger brother had to lead the life of tramps and newsboys. Preoccupied with the revolutionary cause of China, our Chairman Mao had no time to make inquiry about his own children. In those years, Mao An-ying and his brother led a very hard life in Shanghai. Later, the Party found them and sent them to Yenan in 1936.

In 1937, Mao An-ying went to study at Moscow University in the Soviet Union. He joined the Party in 1943 in the Soviet Union and returned to Yenan in 1946. Chairman Mao told him: "You have graduated from a foreign

university, but you have not graduated from the Chinese university. The Chinese university is a university of labor, and you must go among the working people to attend a makeup class, to learn from the masses of workers and peasants and to temper yourself in labor." Therefore, Mao An-ying put on the clothing of the peasant, took along some rations and went amidst the peasants.

On his return, Mao An-ying worked as a translator by the side of Chairman Mao. He was very clever, and some comrades of the Central Committee were so fond of him that they asked him to eat together with the cadres. After Chairman Mao learned of this, he told him to eat together with the fighters.

Mao An-ying worked in the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee in 1950. During the resist-US, aid-Korea campaign, Chairman Mao sent him to support and aid the Korean people, and he heroically laid down his life in November 1950 in the Korean theater of war. At the request of the Korean people, his body is still buried on Korean soil.

Comrade Mao Ch'u-hsiung (毛楚雄), Chairman Mao's nephew and son of Mao Tse-t'an. Born in 1927, he was brought up in the home of his grandmother-in-law, and his whereabouts became known through the ties of the underground Party during the war of resistance against Japan. When the 359th Brigade came to the south in 1945, he was found and Chairman Mao told him to join the revolution. He worked with a detachment in the south. When this detachment was on its way to the north in 1946, as the armed force unit fought its way to the border of Hupeh and Shensi, it spent some time there to carry out mass work. Later Mao Chu-hsiung was buried alive by the Kuomintang at the age of 19.

From the sacrifice of the six martyrs described above, we can perceive two things:

First, Chairman Mao's noble communist spirit. For the Chinese people, he has fought 56 years since 1910, and always works diligently. A quilt which he had used for 20 years from 1942 was discovered by other comrades in 1964 and sent to the museum. When life was difficult in 1960, Chairman Mao went without meat for three years. He is 73 years old this year and he still spends three quarters of a year to work and worry for us.

His noble communist spirit can also be perceived from the way he dealt with his family. He puts public interest above everything else and has no selfish ends. By educating his whole family to dedicate itself to the revolutionary cause, Chairman Mao has truly attended to the revolution with a red heart. Comrades, can you think of anything which he has not given to the people? All members of his family acted in this way in every revolutionary period. He always sent members of his own family to the most dangerous and difficult places to work and fight. Therefore, in every revolutionary period, there were some members of Chairman Mao's family laying down their lives. Three members of his family--Comrades Mao Tse-t'an, Mao Tse-chien and Yang K'ai-hui--laid down their lives in the First

Revolutionary Civil War. During the war of resistance against Japan, Comrade Mao Tse-min laid down his life. Comrade Mao Ch'u-hsiung was martyred in the Liberation War, and Comrade Mao An-ying was sacrificed in the Resist-US, Aid-Korea War.

In 1964, Chairman Mao told his nephew: "You must bear in mind that members of our family were all killed by the reactionaries." Chairman Mao meant to tell this not to his newphew alone, but to all of us. Chairman Mao taught his nephew to wreak vengeance for the martyrs and his family members. Since we are Chairman Mao's good pupils, we should not forget to wreak vengeance for his family members.

Comrades, please think. What have we got and what have we lost by following Chairman Mao to make revolution? Chairman Mao has sacrificed many of his family members for the revolution. Chairman Mao has done a lot of work for our happiness and how great a sacrifice his family has sustained. When we gather together with our wives and children after a spell of work, have we ever thought of our Chairman Mao? We all have young brother and sisters, and when we see them, have we thought of Chairman Mao? For the sake of creating happiness for us and of liberating the whole mankind, Chairman Mao has lost his wife, son, younger brothers and younger sister. All the six martyrs who laid down their lives had no selfish ends, and they whole-heartedly served the revolution. The whole history of every comrade was like this.

Chairman Mao called on us to learn from Comrade Bethune his communist spirit and internationalist spirit, but Chairman Mao has displayed this spirit himself. What attitude do our comrades take toward the question of family? Chairman Mao has set a splendid example for us, and this is a question every comrade of ours should consider. Can we be selfless and loyal to the Party until we heroically lay down our lives?

Second, the victory of the Chinese revolution was brought about by the blood of numerous martyrs. Chairman Mao's family is a model revolutionary family, an epitome of the revolutionary families of China, a milestone of the arduous course of the Chinese revolution. During the forty and more years since the founding of the Communist Party of China, it took the lives of many revolutionary comrades to bring about the victory today, and no struggle was free from the fall and sacrifice of our comrades.

After the failure of the 1927 Revolution, the attitude of the Kuomintang reactionaries toward us was that they would "rather kill 3,000 innocent people than to let one slip away." Many comrades and many of our brothers and sisters were thus sacrificed. According to statistics, during the "Ma Jih Incident," which took place on May 21, 1957 in Changsha, reactionary army officer Hsü K'o-hsiang (許克祥) slaughtered more than 10,000 people there over the period of 20 days from May 21 through June 10. During the ten years from 1927 through 1937, many comrades heroically laid down their lives in the agrarian revolution in Hunan. Eighty thousand people were killed in Liling, and 290,000 people were killed in P'ingchiang, Liuyang, T'aoling and Laiyang hsien. This represented but the statistics of

a few hsien. How many people were murdered by the Kuomintang in Hunan province and how many people were murdered by the enemy in the whole country?

During the war of resistance against Japan, ten million people were killed in the whole country. I am a native of Hopei province. At that time, the Japanese imperialists carried out the policy of "burn all, kill all, loot all" in Central Hopei, and many people were murdered in every village. There was in circulation at that time this line: "No village is not in mourning and there is wailing everywhere." Eleven members were murdered in the Kiangsi family of a veteran comrade who is now Deputy Commissioner of Hantan District. More than 70 clansmen of Comrade Hsü Hai-tung (徐海东), formerly Commander of the Red 25th Army, were murdered. Comrades, please think how difficult it was for the victory of our revolution to come by and what a price we had to pay in blood.

I remember that more than 7,000 people were killed in the Battle of Linfen. At that time, for the sake of winning the next battle, we charged into a hail of bullets from the enemy. Our comrades were not afraid of death, and as soon as those in the front fell, those at their back charged forward. They did not see the final victory.

On the way to the south, as some comrades fell, they bade us: "Fight your way to the south and liberate the whole of China." What have we done as their successors, their comrades and their comrades-in-arms? Do we bear in mind what our comrades-in-arms said in the past ten years or more and how has the revolution fared?

Before Chengtu was liberated, the enemy secretly murdered more than 2,000 of our Party members and comrades. After its liberation, we held a meeting of Party members to celebrate the joining of forces, and the underground Party members and we closely embraced each other without saying anything. How profound such revolutionary feelings of the proletariat were! Are the class feelings of our comrades now deeper or weaker? This merits the deep thought of our comrades.

Chairman Mao once said that numerous martyrs died with life-long enmity against the class enemies and hoped we would avenge them. Do we hate the enemy as much as they did? Do we stand as firm as they did before the enemy? Comrade Yang K'ai-hui refused to disclose anything to the enemy although she was tortured three times. Have we inherited and developed this communist spirit of the martyrs? We certainly must bear in mind Chairman Mao's teachings and hate the enemy. Now that a handful of bourgeois rightists and a handful of monsters and demons are opposed to our Party and our Chairman Mao, are calling on us to step down from the stage and are undermining us in a vain attempt to restore capitalism, what should we do? We must forever bear in mind that our revolution is brought about by the blood of numerous martyrs and forgetting the past means betrayal. We certainly must closely follow Chairman Mao and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

(II) Chairman Mao's Youth and Boyhood

Chairman Mao spent his boyhood--that is, the sixteen years from 1893 to 1910--in his home village Shaoshan. This period can mainly be divided into three stages. He began to do some manual work at home at the age of six. He attended school at the age of eight until he was thirteen years old. From the age of thirteen to the age of sixteen, because his family was short of labor and he was the eldest son, he was required to quit school and do manual work round the year at home. It was during this period that he went through the three stages of labor, study and labor, with study and labor each taking up five years. During this period, Chairman Mao manifested three characteristics:

The first characteristic was that he was fond of labor when he was young. Chairman Mao started to do manual work early and he was quite capable in this regard. Especially after he learned to do various kinds of manual work at the age of thirteen, he became a skilled hand in labor. Therefore, he received a good course of training in labor.

Let us tell a story. He tended cattle at the age of seven, and the hill behind his old home was the place for him to tend cattle. Chairman Mao was fond of telling stories, playing games and reading books when he was young. When tending cattle, he told his young friends the stories which he had read or heard. In order to find time for playing games and telling stories, he organized his young friends to cut grass and tend the cattle. In this way, time could be found for telling stories, and his young friends were quite willing to tend cattle together with him. When Chairman Mao came to Shaoshan in 1959, he made special trips to visit those friends who tended cattle together with him in those years. These people are now middle-aged.

Hearing this story, Asian and African writers have declared that Chairman Mao was a genius in organization when he was young and was much admired by people.

Later, Chairman Mao summed up the "8-Point Charter" for agriculture. This was of significance to the world and was inseparable from his doing manual work when he was young, his personal participation in labor at Yenan, his reclamation of land for production, and his subsequent concern for agricultural production and trips to rural areas in all parts of China. Chairman Mao is also an agricultural scientist. But for his personal participation in labor and his deep understanding of agricultural production, such an "8-Point Charter" could not have been summed up merely with Capital.

The second characteristic was that he cherished the working people when he was young. He was very sympathetic with the poor people because of the influence of his mother. This unaffected class feeling struck root when he was young. When he went to school at Ch'iaotouwan, he usually brought his luncheon with him, but he would eat heavily in the evenings after he came home from school every day. A few days afterward, his mother

noticed this and asked him: "Why do you eat so much in the evening? Is the luncheon not enough?" Chairman Mao told his mother the truth saying: "In our class there is a new classmate whose family is poor. Because he does not bring his luncheon with him, I share mine with him." Chairman Mao was physically strong when he was young, and since he was well-built, the portion for one person naturally was not enough when it was shared by two persons. After learning the truth, his mother said: "Why didn't you tell me earlier?" From then on, she let Chairman Mao bring with him food for two. When it was cold in the winter, Chairman Mao sometimes gave his own cotton-padded coat for his classmate to wear.

When he went to study at a private school in Shaoshan, there was in that place a blacksmith named P'eng who, after losing a suit against the government, organized some people to stage an insurrection in the mountains against the government. Subsequently, that man was captured and killed. Chairman Mao organized the students in the private school to discuss this case. He was the first to declare affirmatively: "The blacksmith was a hero of the peasants." Later, he recalled: "The first hero of the peasants in my mind was that blacksmith."

In 1910 there was a famine in Hunan, but it was not serious. The following year, the reactionary government deliberately raised commodity prices, and the price of grain increased from 20 cashes (wen-ch'ien) to 70 cashes per peck. Quite a number of refugees came to Changsha from the Tungting Lake area.

There was a man named Hu who depended on selling water to support his family. He earned 76 cashes one day and sent his wife to the grain store to buy rice. She joined the queue, but the price of grain had gone up to 78 cashes per peck. Since she did not have enough money, she left to borrow some more money, but when she returned, the price had risen to 80 cashes per peck. Seeing that there was no way to make ends meet, this woman committed suicide by jumping into the Hsiang River. Seeing that what he earned a day was not enough to buy one peck of rice and there was no way to feed his family of four mouths, the husband also led his son to jump into the river to commit suicide. This incident aroused a commotion in Changsha, and the residents organized themselves to attack the yamen (now the site of the Palace for Youths and Boys). At that time, the reactionary government suppressed the riot in collusion with imperialism, and many people were killed. In history, this riot was called the "Hui Jih (10th) Incident." Subsequently, many refugees escaped to Shaoshan, and Chairman Mao learned of the incident from them.

Later, Chairman Mao recalled: "Although I did not know those people, yet I regarded them as my kinsmen. I felt uncomfortable and grievous because they were not fed and were slaughtered by the reactionaries. My life was influenced by this important event, and I made up my mind to join the revolution and transform this world."

The third characteristic was that he was fond of studying and seeking the truth when he was young. He scored good results when he studied. He participated in labor at the age of 13, and since he could not go to school in the day time, he borrowed many books and read them. Later, because he had borrowed and read all books in Shaoshan, he went to other villages tens of li away to borrow books. A book-borrowing slip now on exhibition at the museum bears his lively characters. A Japanese who saw it expressed his admiration saying: "Since Chairman Mao was able to write such good characters when he was a boy, it can be seen that he made good progress in study."

At that time, Chairman Mao had a strong desire for knowledge. Because he had no time to read books in the day time, he read at night under an oil lamp. His parents forbade him to read saying: "You have worked a whole day and you have to work again tomorrow. You should take a good rest, otherwise you will ruin your health." Therefore, Chairman Mao covered up the window with a bedsheet to block out the light so that he could read unmolested. Nowadays, when foreigners see the lamp under which Chairman Mao read in those days, they would remark emotionally: "It appears that reading is a question of revolutionary spirit. We are not able to read well even under the electric light today."

Chairman Mao knew how to think independently as he read. He read many novels when he was young, including Water Margin, Story of Yüeh Fei and Romance of the Three Kingdoms. He brought up a question for discussion with his fellow students. He asked: "Why were these books written instead of books about the tillers and farming?" Neither his fellow students nor Chairman Mao were able to answer this question at that time. After two years of thinking Chairman Mao was enlightened. He said: "The most important reasons are: (1) these books were not written by the peasants because peasants are illiterate; (2) the authors of these books know nothing about farming and they therefore are not able to write about the farmers; their books are also not for the working people to read."

When Chairman Mao was a boy, the Chinese people were woe-stricken because of imperialist aggression. From the Opium War in 1840 to the year 1910 when Chairman Mao was 16 years old, the imperialists were frenziedly preoccupied with the carving up of China. The Sino-Japanese War of 1894--this war was portrayed in the film The Storm of 1894--was fought, and in 1895, China was forced to sign the Treaty of Shimonoseki with Japanese imperialism and pay an indemnity of 230 million taels of silver. In the war with the eight powers in 1900, the imperialists headed by US imperialism invaded China. In 1901, China was forced to sign the Treaty of 1901 and pay an indemnity of 450 million taels of silver. At that time, there were many foreign concessions in China, and along the boundaries of such concessions, there were written the words: "No admittance for Chinese and dogs." At that time, the imperialists brought disgrace to our country and nation in this way. They worked in collusion with the feudal forces and bureaucrat-capital to oppress us, and we must never forget the class enmity and national enmity. Chairman Mao once said: "The Chinese people have their revolutionary tradition and the Chinese nation is a heroic nation.

They never submit and are waging a protracted struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism for the liberation of our country and nation." When Chairman Mao was sixteen years old, the Chinese people had fought imperialism for seventy years. These struggles greatly influenced Chairman Mao as a boy.

Chairman Mao began to read some progressive books about national salvation at the age of thirteen and he learned something about China. For example, after reading the book On the Danger of China's Being Carved Up by Foreign Countries, he had deep anxiety for the future of the fatherland and began to ponder over the question of national salvation. He thought that since he was a Chinese, how could he tolerate their carving up China? At a time China was about to be destroyed as a nation and race, how could he stay home to till the land and look on with folded arms? He decided that he should leave home to seek revolutionary truth. At that time, his father planned to send him to Hsiangt'an hsien to learn a trade. Later, Chairman Mao asked some relatives to persuade his father to send him to the Shantung Primary School at Ninghsiang instead. This is a brief account of Chairman Mao's boyhood.

Next, let us talk about Chairman Mao as a youth from 1911 to 1918 when he was from sixteen years to twenty-four years old. In 1911, while studying in the middle school of Hsianghsiang at Changsha, he joined Sun Yat-sen's movement against the Manchurian government. The Huangkang incident in 1911 greatly influenced Chairman Mao. He made up his mind to oppose the Manchurian government by cutting off his queue and publishing articles against the Manchurian government. He posted his articles at the gate of the school to indicate his split with the Manchurian government. Later the 1911 Revolution broke out, and Chairman Mao joined the revolutionary army, that is, the New Army of Hunan.

At that time, middle school students rarely joined the colors. The New Army was quartered at the present site of the Martyrs' Park in Changsha. Chairman Mao was then paid seven yüan per month. He spent three yüan on meals and the other four yüan on newspapers and books. The revolution then led by the bourgeoisie was feeble and weak and was not carried out with thoroughness. He knew that it wouldn't do merely to cut off his queue without detaching himself from other things. He was disappointed with the bourgeois leaders and he knew there was no future for him to follow them. The following year he left the New Army and sat for First Middle School of Changsha (that is, the present Middle School No. 1). He came out first. Because he felt that there was not much to learn since the cultural standard of the school was too low, he went to the Tingwangt'ai Library in Changsha to take up private study in the winter of 1912. He was enrolled by the First Normal School of Hunan in 1913, and after five and a half years, he left in the summer of 1918.

To put it simply, the activities of this period comprised one red line and four phases. The red line was to make preparations for the revolution, to seek revolutionary truth and to organize revolutionary activities. The four phases were:

First, to study extensively ancient and modern Chinese and foreign theories for the revolutionary cause, to lay down the foundation of knowledge and to become a learned man. This also meant to fulfill the study task with great pains for the revolution. He studied the hard way. He read books in crowded streets to temper his fortitude in study under whatever complex circumstances. At the time of study, Chairman Mao always studied critically and in real earnest. He wrote a comment of more than 12,000 words on the book Theory of Logic containing 100,000 words. This book is now on display in the museum and its pages are filled with comments written in different kinds of ink. Many comments were of significance, and in some places he wrote cogent annotations: "This is quite good and I agree with your view." "You are wrong in this regard and I disagree with you. You have failed to convince me although you have dwelled on the subject half a day. I disagree with you." ...He studied entirely with a critical attitude. When he read a book in a foreign language, he compared it with the Chinese text, and when he read a book written in Chinese, he compared it with the foreign text. Therefore, he was quite successful with study and able to state his unique view.

In the winter of 1914, Chairman Mao wrote some class notes totaling 72 pages. The page exhibited on this occasion deals with three questions.

The first question deals with "self cultivation." The original text reads: "It is human nature to indulge in pleasure and to hate toil, and laziness is the source of all evils. Laziness will make a peasant abandon his fields, a worker his compasses and squares, a trader his wares and a scholar his study. With his trade abandoned, a person has no means to make a living, and this will lead to his own destruction and the destruction of his family. A lazy nation is marked first by lack of progress, next by retrogression, then by decline and finally by its downfall. How dreadful! It is therefore said that laziness is the source of all evils."

This also means to say that many people influenced by the exploiting classes are fond of going after pleasures but are unwilling to do manual work and are afraid of hardship. Such laziness is the source of all evils. This is followed by a concrete explanation. Laziness will make a peasant abandon his fields, and through neglecting his fields he will reap no harvest. If a worker is lazy, his tools will gather rust. A trader will operate his trade at a loss if he is lazy, and a lazy student will neglect his study. If a person is so lazy as to neglect his trade, he has nothing to live on and nothing to struggle for, and this is equal to death. This applies to the individual. If a nation is lazy, it will make no progress at first, then it will decline, and finally it will fall. That is why it is said that laziness is the source of all evils. Once a nation is lazy, revisionism will appear, and the Soviet Union is a good example.

When the Soviet Army Song and Dance Ensemble came to Changsha last year, its members were lazy and gluttonous, and they constantly looked around for good things to satisfy their gluttony. When they came to visit the seedless orange orchard planted by the Provincial Committee itself, they became so

gluttonous that they asked us whether they could have some. When we answered in the affirmative, they ate as many as they could. They then asked us whether they could take some away, and we told them that they could take as many as they wished. They also asked us how many days these oranges could be kept because they wanted to take some home for their wives and children. We asked them: "Haven't you seedless oranges in Moscow?" They said: "Not even oranges with seeds, let alone seedless oranges."

On another occasion, more than thirty people came to visit Shaoshan, and twelve of them were Soviet revisionists. Our hostel served them with chicken, and they ate with their fingers. They filled their pockets with fruits, and they were so gluttonous that they knew not there was such a thing as shame.

When Chairman Mao wrote his article more than 50 years ago in 1914, he was only 20 years old. Now some people have degenerated because starting from laziness they have glided down the black line of laziness, gluttony and avarice. This question was pointed out by Chairman Mao fifty years ago.

The second question deals with "struggle." The original text reads: "If one wants to survive by pitching 50 soldiers against an enemy force one hundred thousand strong and driving the tired soldiers against the up-and-coming forces, one can do nothing else but to struggle." This also means to say: How can we pitch 5,000 against 100,000, a weak force against a strong force, a small force against a big force, and win? We have no alternative but to rise and struggle if we want to survive. We cannot rely on foreign countries, nor can we rely on Sun Yat-sen. This statement of Chairman Mao's tells us that self-reliance is most important.

The third question deals with "vitality and vigor." The original text reads: "A young man must have vitality and vigor, otherwise slackness will arise. Therefore, laziness is the grave of life." This means to say that young people must have vitality and vigor, otherwise they will become apathetic, and once they are apathetic, they will become lethargic, arrogant and complacent without our noticing it, and laziness will be ushered in. This is tantamount to putting them into the coffins while they are still alive, the end of their political life, and spiritual death.

These class notes of Chairman Mao's are very useful in helping us understand Chairman Mao's wisdom and greatness. After reading them, an American friend was so moved that he said: "This is a program for national construction. I suggest that these class notes be printed into textbooks for distribution to every student."

In a letter dated August 23, 1917, to Li Chü-ch'i (李 居 起) and Yang Huai-chung (杨 懷 中), Chairman Mao wrote: "I agree that the East is backward, but the Western ideology should also be remolded at the same time." It was wonderful for him to make this statement at that time. The October Revolution had not occurred then, and many people worshiped the

West saying that China must learn from the West if it wanted to make revolution and become strong and wealthy. Many intellectuals went to the West to study and search for revolutionary truth. Didn't some people say that the moon over the United States was rounder than that over China at that time? In those days, only Chairman Mao called for the transformation of the West. Therefore, Chairman Mao was quite farsighted and independent in thought when he was a boy and youth.

In those days, Chairman Mao criticized and repudiated what K'ang Yu-wei (康有為) and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (梁啟超) preached saying: "They have not put forward any plan for the administration of the country."

In a letter to a friend in 1916, he wrote that China and Japan would fight for Asia. The war must be fought, and unless we made efforts, we would be bullied by Japan. He declared: "How could our nation with a population of 400,000,000 tolerate the bullying a nation of three thousand islands?" History has entirely testified to this.

At that time Chairman Mao also discussed the meaning of noble aspirations, saying those with noble aspirations would fight for truth. What is learning? Learned people should write for the working people, otherwise they are talking nonsense. Therefore, we should now topple the old idols and must not trust the authorities. The more they are unable to make you understand what they talk about, the more questionable their learning is. This was so when Hu Shih taught in class in the past. When the class was over, nobody understood what he taught, but some people said that Hu Shih was learned because we did not understand what he taught. This was the slave mentality pure and simple.

Chairman Mao read many books when he was young and he could recite many things from memory. He is a genius and has enlightened us to some degree. We have found that Chairman Mao wrote more than 130 articles before 1927, but only two of them were included for publication in Volume I. According to the statistics of some people, more than 160 classical allusions have been made in the four volumes. These stories have been critically accepted, are most properly adapted and are very convincing.

Chairman Mao said that our Party committees must exchange information with each other. He said: "We cannot die of old age without visiting each other and just let our cocks and dogs communicate with each other." Lao Tzu made this statement to indicate that in the past, although the peasants lived in the same place, and the crowing and barking of each other's cocks and dogs were clearly audible, yet they didn't visit each other. Our CCP committees cannot cut themselves off from each other like them.

In the article "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," Chairman Mao quoted Chu Hsi's (朱熹) statement: "Deal with a man as he deals with you." This statement was based on a story. When Wu Tse-t'ien (武則天) was empress, the two ministers under her, Chou Hsing (周興) and Lai Chun-ch'en (來俊臣), were both bad eggs who wanted to rebel against Wu Tse-t'ien, and were antagonistic to each other. Wu Tse-t'ien issued an

imperial decree instructing Lai Chun-ch'en to arrest Chou Hsing. Lai knew that Chou Hsing was very crafty and very difficult to deal with. Knowing that it was by no means easy to extract a confession from him, Lai brought the imperial decree to Chou Hsing's place. Addressing Chou Hsing, he asked: "I come specially for your advice. Suppose a criminal refuses to make a confession, what should be done?" Chou Hsing said: "There is a way. You can put a pot of boiling oil on one side, and should he refuse to make a confession, just put him in the pot of oil and he certainly would confess." Hearing this, Lai Chun-ch'en was very pleased. He asked Chou Hsing to show him the pot of boiling oil. After Chou Hsing complied with his request and a pot of boiling oil was ready, Lai Chun-ch'en showed him Wu Tse-t'ien's imperial decree and said: "You have committed the crime of rebellion, and if you do not make a confession today, you will be put into the pot of boiling oil." Chou Hsing had no alternative but to make a confession. In this connection, Chairman Mao said: "Since the enemy has adopted the method of dictatorship against us, we also must adopt the method of dictatorship against them."

On the subject of investigation and study, Chairman Mao said that the method of "looking at a flower from horseback" must be opposed. This was also based on a story. As the story goes, there was a man who was quite all right in all respects except that he was slightly lame. There also was a woman who was quite all right in all respect except for her flat nose. Both of them were unable to find a spouse. A match-maker said: "I have a way to find a spouse for each of you." That day, she asked the man to go on horseback to meet the woman. She also told the woman to stand by the door with a flower held close to her nose. The lameness of the man could not be detected because he was riding, and the flat nose of the woman also could not be detected because of the flower. Both sides were satisfied, and it was not until the wedding night that the couple discovered that one was lame and the other had a flat nose. This tells us that it won't do to conduct investigation and study by looking at a flower from horseback, and that deep-going investigation and study must be conducted.

In the military field, the story of Lin Ch'ung assaulting Instructor Hung was also cited.

(Omitted)

The New Year Days' editorial "Carry the Revolution Through to the End" written in 1949 told the story of a woodcutter and the poisonous snake (omitted). This story is of Greek origin.

In short, Chairman Mao read many books when he was young. He has a profound and extensive knowledge of various branches of learning.

Second, to undergo physical training painstakingly and staunchly for the revolution and to foster a strong revolutionary will. Chairman Mao paid great attention to physical training when he was young. In the summer, he took off his clothes and exposed his body to the hot sun so as to strengthen his ability to resist heat and adapt himself to a hot environment. He

took cold baths in all seasons of the year, and when he was a student in the First Normal School, he went to the side of the well to take a cold bath early in the morning every day. In stormy days, Chairman Mao braved the storm to climb mountains. Chairman Mao was fond of swimming when he was young, and he was especially fond of swimming in a stormy river. From 1956 through 1966, Chairman Mao swam the Yangtze River eight times; he swam 26 li on one occasion and 28 li on another occasion. On July 16, 1966, he swam the Yangtze River again, and he swam almost 30 li in one hour and five minutes. It takes us almost three hours to cover 30 li on foot. However, Chairman Mao is not only at the summit of contemporary Marxism-Leninism but also at the summit in swimming. How pleased and excited we were when we heard of this event. It was the greatest happiness of the people of China and the world that Chairman Mao was so healthy.

Chairman Mao is not only a practician but also a theoretician in physical culture. In 1917, he published in New Youth an article entitled "A Study of Physical Culture." He did a good job in expounding the relationship between physical culture, moral culture and intellectual culture. Chairman Mao said: "Physical culture is not a question of general liking and interest, but is for the purpose of training our staunch revolutionary will, our indomitable, fearless spirit of going boldly forward." This article "A Study of Physical Culture" is being studied and learned in real earnest by the State Commission for Physical Culture. It also has been translated in Japan, and all quarters in Japan are greatly startled by the fact that Chairman Mao made so thorough a discussion of various aspects of physical culture 49 years ago.

When Chairman Mao was a youth, he wrote a poem: "One draws endless pleasure from struggle against Nature, against the soil and against other people." This is the greatest pleasure and happiness. Chairman Mao's outlook on happiness when he was still a youth was also an important aspect of his life philosophy. Chairman Mao has long ago answered the question of what is the greatest happiness.

Let us tell another story. When Marx made revolution in Germany, the reactionaries forbade him to stay in Germany. So he went to stay in France and made revolution there. The French reactionaries were scared of him and did not permit him to stay on in France. He moved again to Belgium and later back to Germany and France. Finally, he spent more than 30 years in Britain. Marx said: "I am a world citizen." Marx led a hard life making revolution at that time. He had six children, and three of them died of illness because there was no money for their medical treatment. Marx's work spirit was marvellous and he constantly worked all night. He passed away at the desk in his office. One morning Engels went to see him, and when he pushed open the door, he found him dead by the side of the desk. In the past, Marx had been asked several questions by his daughter. She said: "I have a few questions for you, and only you can give me the simplest answers." Marx said: "Go ahead." His daughter asked him three questions. The first question was: "What do you consider as the greatest happiness?" Marx answered: "Struggle." The second question was: "What do you consider

as the greatest agony?" Marx answered: "Submission." The third question: "What is your principle of life?" Marx answered: "Simplicity."

Our Chairman Mao exhibited this characteristic when he was young. He laid down a good foundation for fostering the revolutionary determination in his youth. He worked very hard. He spent three quarters of the year not in Peking but at the grassroots level, and he worked more than 17 hours a day. During the Spring Festival of this year, a clansman of Chairman Mao's came to Peking to see him. He told Chairman Mao: "People back home all think of you and hope that you would go back for a visit." Chairman Mao said: "I also think of home and want very much to see my home people. But I am very busy now because I have to serve not only the Chinese people but also the people of the world." Comrades, please see how our great Chairman Mao has exerted himself for the Chinese people and the people of the whole world. He has set the best example for us in this regard.

Third, going deep into society and reality to conduct social investigation in conjunction with the worker-peasant masses. Chairman Mao paid considerable attention to integrating theory with practice and the intellectuals with the worker-peasant masses. He constantly went to other places to conduct investigation and study, and he investigated things on a large scale on a number of occasions--in 1916 and the summer of 1917.

The 1917 investigation was carried out in the summer vacation. All of us wanted to avail ourselves of the summer vacation to take a rest or to go home to visit our parents, but what Chairman Mao had in mind was the liberation of the working people all over the world. He went deep into the countryside to conduct investigation and study. He passed through five hsien and traveled more than 900 li on foot. At that time he was only 23 years old. He led a hard life when he conducted the investigation. He put on a pair of sandals and brought with him an umbrella. When he ran out of money, he wrote scrolls and letters for other people. Because Chairman Mao was a good calligrapher when he was young, he was able to earn money for his meals like the travelling scholars in ancient times.

On one occasion, Chairman Mao and a schoolmate went out to make investigation. When they came to a place called Ichiawan in between Hsiangt'an and Chuchow, they had no place to pass the night, and they went to the Chaoshan Monastery to beg for shelter. At that time, a monk said: "Our place is a monastery and no strangers can be admitted." Chairman Mao said: "Since you do not allow us to stay, we'll sleep outside in the mountain and by doing this we also can steel our courage." In the middle of the night, the monk in question was troubled by his conscience, and he asked Chairman Mao to move into the monastery.

When Chairman Mao went to conduct investigation and study at that time, life was very hard, and his schoolmates said although he was penniless, he kept the world in mind. It occurs to us that if Chairman Mao had not so noble a revolutionary spirit at that time, how could he take so noble an action? A visitor declared: "This is a brilliant page in the history of

international communism. During the 118 years of the international communist movement since the publication of the Communist Manifesto by Marx in 1848, who else has carried out investigation on so large a scale under such circumstances at the age of 23? Only our Chairman Mao."

Chairman Mao took great pains to study the masses of workers and peasants. Only he understands best the masses of workers and peasants, and only he stands forever with us.

When he studied at the First Normal School of Hunan in 1917, he founded an evening school for workers in the name of the Normal School, and established close ties with the workers. At the time of starting the evening school, he wrote an advertizement for pupils. Chairman Mao always wrote in the colloquial style, and this advertizement was the first one showing his profound class feelings for the worker-peasant masses. In this advertizement he said:

"Workers, come and listen for we have a few words to say. What is most inconvenient to all of you? It is that you are unable to write down what you say, remember what you have written and do computation. Since you workers have to do manual work and have nobody to teach you, what should be done before you can write a few characters and do some computation? The best method is now available because our First Normal School has run an evening school. Many students have been enrolled in the first half of the year, and some of you may have heard of that. This evening school is especially run for you workers, and you can attend class two hours each evening from Monday through Friday. You will be taught to write letters and to do computation, and such knowledge is needed by all of you at all times. Lecture notes will be issued by us free, and attending school in the evening will not impede your work. Should you want to seek knowledge, please rush to the Registration Office of the Normal School to register yourselves within one week. Some of you are afraid that you might violate the curfew order in view of the unsettled situation, but in this connection we can stand guarantee for you. After your enrollment, each of you will be issued a class tablet. Should you be interrogated by the troops or the police, just tell them that you are students of the Normal School and there will be no trouble. If you are in trouble, we shall stand guarantee for you. You have no worry in this connection. So come at once to enroll yourselves without further delay."

This advertizement was so well written that a number of professors were quite impressed after reading it. They said: "Although we have been teaching for several decades, yet it is still beyond us to write such an advertizement." This was not a question of educational standard but one of class feeling. This advertizement was filled with a profound class feeling for the workers between the lines. Chairman Mao was most familiar with the language and life of the workers, and because of this, the workers understood best what he said. This advertizement thus opened up a new historical period of culture for the workers.

However, three days after the posting of this advertizement, only two persons came for enrollment. Chairman Mao wanted to find out why. He studied the matter together with his schoolmates and found out that the chief cause was that the workers paid no heed to the advertizement, since all advertizements posted in the past had nothing to do with them. Therefore, Chairman Mao made copies of the advertizement and asked a few schoolmates to go to the workers' homes to publicize the matter. Two or three days afterward, more than 120 workers came to enroll themselves.

Chairman Mao worked very hard to approach the workers. In order to learn more about the workers, he went to live in a place close to the railroad station to work as a porter along with other workers. In order to learn more about the rickshaw pullers, he paid the fare, but instead of riding on the rickshaw, he walked along with the rickshaw puller and chatted with him. It should be known that it was by no means easy for the intellectuals to contact the workers. At that time, the relationship between the intellectuals and the working masses was in most cases one between the exploiter and the exploited. In the past, the workers despised the intellectuals, but Chairman Mao was capable of forming one with the working masses.

A section of the teaching diary written by Chairman Mao when he taught in the evening school is now on display. He was good at summing up experience when he taught. At that time, he advocated that "less but finer things" must be taught. In the teaching diary he wrote: "I have experimented with teaching for three days and I feel that the Chinese language lessons taught are too difficult to understand and too many. Since there are too many lessons, the number should be cut, and since the lessons are too difficult to understand, the popular language (between the spoken language and the literary language) should be adopted. The volume of common knowledge taught is also too much (referring to the written language). Less written language should be used, and lectures should be delivered in the spoken language. Lecture notes should contain a few simple sentences and should not be distributed at once. Just make known the spirit of the lectures, and it will be sufficient to read over the lecture notes once in the end. I feel that the teaching of current history with this method is much more lively." As we read this passage we can see how successful he was.

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao also said: "The period of schooling should be shortened, and education should be revolutionized." What Chairman Mao said in the past is still a very important task that must be accomplished with efforts today. Education should be revolutionized, and it is useless for one to deliver scholarly lectures that other people do not understand. Chairman Mao said: "Then it is better for you to let the students go to sleep and rest a while." Therefore, we certainly must carry out thoroughgoing educational reforms. Since this task advanced by Chairman Mao has not been accomplished by us after so many years, it also can be seen how great and farsighted Chairman Mao is.

Chairman Mao says that learning relies on the consciousness of the students and cannot be fed by teachers. The university for self-cultivation founded by Chairman Mao relied on the consciousness of the students. The teachers and students of bourgeois schools have not a bit of affection for each other. One side works for money and the other side for diplomas. Each goes his own way at the end of the course of study, and this is entirely a manifestation of commercialism in teaching. At that time Chairman Mao's declaration of the university for self-cultivation was a declaration of punitive action against the capitalist and feudal educational system. At that time, Chairman Mao called for the launching of a great cultural revolution.

Fourth, organizing revolutionary bodies and carrying out revolutionary activities. In 1915, the people at home launched an anti-Yüan Shih-k'ai campaign against his act of national betrayal when dealing with Japanese imperialism. Chairman Mao organized the students to fight against Yüan Shih-k'ai, and on the cover of the book Know Shame which he had read he wrote: "May 7 is a great shame for the Republic, and it is up to us students to decide when to wreak vengeance." Yüan Shih-k'ai signed the treaty of national betrayal on May 7. This showed that Chairman Mao had established a firm patriotic thought at that time.

Later, knowing that it would not do for one to make revolution alone and that the people must be organized to fight against the enemy, Chairman Mao wrote an advertizement called "Announcement of the Twenty-Eight Strokes for Friends" (the twenty-eight strokes represent the number of strokes in the three characters of Mao Tse-tung) expressing his hope of making friends with the progressive youths. He posted this advertizement at a street in Changsha, and a newspaper which saw it and considered it to be of some significance published it.

Preparatory work was carried out in 1917, and at that time five persons joined him. In April 1918, the Hsin-min Hsüeh-hui (新民学会) was formally inaugurated in the Hunan Normal School. This society was joined by between 70 and 80 people. It rallied around it some progressive young intellectuals, and Comrades Li Fu-ch'un (李富春), Ts'ai Ch'ang (蔡暢), Kuo Liang (郭亮), Ts'ai Ho-sen (蔡和森) and Hsiang Ching-yü (向警予) were all members of the Hsin-min Hsüeh-hui. The society actively studied and looked for the correct road for the Chinese revolution. The object of the society was to "transform China and the world." Through the Hsin-min Hsüeh-hui, Chairman Mao led the the "May 7" movement of Hunan, and the society became the nucleus organization of the revolution in Hunan after the "May 4" movement.

During the First World War, the Chinese students in France initiated the organization of the society for the practice of working while studying in France, and young people were urged to go to France to work and study. Chairman Mao actively organized members of the Hsin-min Hsüeh-hui and the progressive young intellectuals in Hunan to take part in this activity. He also called on some of the members of the Hsin-min Hsüeh-hui

to go to France and the Soviet Union and some of them to stay in China, so that the advanced ideas of various countries might be critically studied for the reference of the Chinese revolution on the one hand, and so that the conditions of China might be observed and critically studied on the other hand. Chairman Mao himself stayed behind to conduct studies at home, and later he went to the countryside to make a great number of investigations. Chairman Mao was obviously different from many people who mechanically copied things of the West, and he exhibited the spirit of integrating theory with practice. Because Chairman Mao had fostered many cadres through the Hsin-min Hsüeh-hui, the Party forces were very strong in Hunan, and they ranked first both in quality and number throughout the country.

Chairman Mao has set a brilliant example for us in this connection. Where else in the world has there been a person like Chairman Mao who underwent all-round training to make preparations for the revolution when he was young? This is of advantage to our understanding that Chairman Mao has been consistently wise, correct and great.

(III) Chairman Mao Is Consistently Wise, Correct and Great

The victory of the Chinese revolution was a victory for Mao Tsetung thought. This subject is very massive and it covers a very long period of time--totalling 48 years from 1918 to the present (1966). This period of time is boundlessly rich in content, and only a few simple outlines can be given. For convenience of narration, the whole period is divided into eight parts. The distinctions drawn for each period are not necessarily appropriate but are easier to commit to memory.

The First Period: The period of the founding of the Party (the winter of 1918 through December 1923) was mainly concerned with the founding of the Communist Party of China. Chairman Mao said: Of all questions the founding of a Marxist-Leninist political party is the question of first importance. During this period (1920 to 1922), he served as principal of the primary school attached to the Hunan Provincial First Normal School and a language teacher of the Normal School, and he led the revolutionary struggle under the guise of doing educational work. The principal activities at that time fell under three aspects:

1. Completing the transformation of radical democratism to communism. Many leaders were converted from radical democratism; they were not Marxist-Leninists as soon as they were born. In the winter of 1918, Chairman Mao went to Peking for the first time for the purpose of sending students to France to study while working. When they came to the bank of the Yellow River, the iron bridge was out of order and the train could not pass through. As they did not know when the bridge could be repaired, some of them felt annoyed. Some said: "We'd better be patient and wait till the bridge is repaired. At any rate we cannot swim the river." However, Chairman Mao said that was a good opportunity for conducting a rural survey. Therefore, he went to the countryside in Hunan to make a rural survey.

After Chairman Mao came to Peking, he worked at the Library of Peking University and came into contact with Comrade Li Ta-chao (李大釗) for the first time. He made use of all opportunities to study painstakingly the various kinds of advanced culture and ideology of that time. He began to study Marxism-Leninism and read the Communist Manifesto and other books (the theory of the October Revolution was not brought to China until the winter of 1918).

In March 1918, after Chairman Mao came to Changsha by way of Shanghai, he acquainted people with the October Revolution. By that time, he had embraced the communist faith and was an intellectual with communist consciousness.

During the "May 4" movement, Hsiang-chiang P'ing-lun (湘江评论) was set up. At first, most articles were written by Chairman Mao. He advocated putting the word "dare" above everything else and getting rid of fear to win victory. This publication had a great impact on the whole country and his articles were reproduced by periodicals in Shanghai, Peking and Chungking. Such progressive periodicals as New Youth, Weekly Review and Sunday edited by Comrade Li Ta-chao all published articles to recommend Chairman Mao's Hsiang-chiang P'ing-lun, and at that time this publication was deeply welcomed by the broad reading public. In the inaugural issue of Hsiang-chiang P'ing-lun, Chairman Mao wrote with great brilliance: "Since the rise of the clamor for world revolution, the movement for the liberation of mankind has shot forward....No force can stem this tide....What is the biggest question in the world? The question of feeding the people is the biggest question. What is the strongest force? The united force of the people is strongest. What are the things which we should not be afraid of? We should not be afraid of Heaven, of gods, of ghosts, of the dead, and of the warlords and the capitalists."

After the October Revolution, Chairman Mao had faith in the swift and irresistible development of the tide of the socialist revolution. He knew that socialism and communism were irresistible and certainly would be realized in China and all over the world. By preaching that we should not be afraid in six respects, Chairman Mao put the word "dare" above everything else and manifested the heroic bearing of a giant who dared to struggle and was good in struggle. His not giving a dam about imperialism...showed that as soon as the proletariat of China mounted the political stage, it would manifest its dauntless spirit, and Chairman Mao was the example.

Chairman Mao had faith in the masses and he held that the united force of the people was strongest. When Chairman Mao made this remark in 1919, the enemy was in command of troops one million strong and had the support of many imperialist countries. At that time, Chairman Mao's Hsin-min Hsüeh-hui had but several dozen members. It was apparent that the enemy was strong while we were weak, but Chairman Mao held that what was genuinely strong was the alliance of the people. This showed Chairman Mao's firm

faith in the inexhaustible strength of the masses. At that time, the struggle to oust Hunan warlord Chang Ching-yao (张敬尧) led by Chairman Mao was powerful and influential. Victory was won in the struggle.

In March 1919, Chairman Mao left Changsha the second time for Peking. While in Peking, he made an intensive study of Marxist-Leninist works. He made propaganda on the one hand and launched a revolutionary movement to sum up experience on the other. At that time, his transformation from a radical democrat into a communist had been brought to completion, and it was in the summer of 1920 that he acquired a firm communist world outlook and became a great Marxist-Leninist. The first group of Marxist-Leninists among the intellectuals of China was represented by Chairman Mao.

2. Party building activity. The question that had to be solved was how to build the Party.

Early in 1920, Chairman Mao went to Shanghai to carry out Party building work. At that time, life was difficult and he had to earn his keep by working as a laundryman. In July 1920, he returned to Changsha to propagate the experience of the October Revolution. He told people that the victory was won after long preparations because of the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist Party with 250,000 Party members to maintain contacts with the broad masses. He said that the present conditions were still inadequate for us to take the road of the October Revolution and that a Party must first be built on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. At the same time, he set up cultural bookstores in Changsha and other places in Hunan for propagating Marxism-Leninism.

In August, the Hunan Russia Study Society was set up, and in September a communist group was formed in Hunan. In October, preparations were made for the establishment of the Socialist Youth League, and the League was formally inaugurated in January 1921. At the inaugural meeting, it was stressed again and again that the fundamental question was to build a Marxist-Leninist party. At that time, some people said that it would do for us to have an organization for the education of the masses. Chairman Mao said that this was wrong and the Party was the basic question. In that year, he carried out a lot of work for the Party.

In June 1921, Chairman Mao went to Shanghai to attend the inaugural meeting of the Party. There was struggle in the "First Congress." Li Ta (李达, form erly President of Wuhan University and a member of the black gang), Li Han (李汉) and other representatives of Shanghai held that it would do to set up a club or a propaganda organ. Chairman Mao was firmly opposed to this. In point of fact, Li Ta and Li Han had got out of the Party after the failure of the revolution. Li Ta's opposition to Chairman Mao was nothing new since Chairman Mao had struggled against those people at that time. At the same time, Chairman Mao also fought against Chang Kuo-t'ao's (张国焘) closed-door sectarianism; he advocated keeping close to the masses and leading them to struggle. Therefore.

Chairman Mao was the founder of the Party and the great representative of the Party's correct line. After the "First Congress," Chairman Mao returned to Hunan to serve as Secretary to the Hsiang District Committee (including Anyüan of Kiangsi at that time).

3. Launching the workers' movement. Our Party came into being in the workers' movement. In order to strengthen contacts with the workers, Chairman Mao at that time also concentrated all forces to carry out the workers' movement. He paid great attention to investigation and study and he went to Anyüan to conduct investigation on four occasions. Life was hard then, and in order to maintain close contacts with the workers, he crawled into the pits to chat with the workers.

Chairman Mao paid great attention to educating the workers then. He personally taught in the evening school, and the cultural class was actually a political class. For example, when he explained the word "工," he said that the upper horizontal stroke stood for the sky, the lower horizontal stroke stood for the earth, and the vertical stroke in the middle represented the working class. Therefore the working class stood on the earth with its head reaching to the sky, and that we were heroes and manly fellows, masters in society. He used this method to enlighten the consciousness of the workers and to make a word as energetic as a live dragon or tiger.

In the declaration of strike at Anyüan Colliery written by Chairman Mao, the first line read: "Formerly we were beasts of burden; now we want to lead the life of human beings." He used this slogan to mobilize the people. Chairman Mao did a lot of work at Anyüan, and he personally led more than ten general strikes that took place in 1921 in Hunan. The general strike of Anyüan Colliery, the general strike of Shuik'ou Mountain, the general strike of the Canton-Hankow Railway and the general strike of transport workers, for example, all ended in victory. They had a great impact on the whole country and Hunan became the place in which strikes were most successful. Anyüan was the red banner of the whole country and it set the example for the whole Party. Based on the vigorous development of the workers' movement in Hunan, the "Hunan Federation of Trade Unions" was set up in November 1922 and Chairman Mao was elected General Secretary.

But at that time industry was not well developed in Hunan, there were not many workers, and conditions were poor. Then, Shanghai employed the largest number of workers, Peking was best developed in learning, and the revolutionary situation was best in Canton. Why was the workers' movement in Hunan so well launched? It was due to the wise and great leadership of Chairman Mao.

The above were the activities during the Party building period.

After the tragedy of February 7 broke out in 1923, the workers' movement of China was temporarily on the ebb. Chairman Mao summed up the experience of this incident. He knew that victory could not be won by

merely relying on the strength of one's own class and that it was necessary to unite all revolutionary classes and strata and to build the revolutionary united front.

The Second Period: Chairman Mao in the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War (January 1924 through July 1927). The principal question was to solve the question of the proletarian leadership and the allied army of the peasants. In January 1924, Chairman Mao went to Canton to attend the First Congress of the Kuomintang. At this meeting Sun Yat-sen accepted the plan advanced by our Party for the reorganization of the Kuomintang. At that time, Chairman Mao and Comrades Lin Po-ch'ü (林伯渠) and Li Ta-chao attended the Congress on behalf of our Party. All documents were drafted by us, and the united front was formally set up.

In August 1924, Chairman Mao went to Shanghai to work in the Central Committee and to carry out united front work. At that time, some people were contented with working in the cities and they tended to neglect the countryside. They were contented with doing heroic work in the cities, but they neglected to do solid work. Seeing this danger, Chairman Mao pointed out that the united front could only be a means but not the objective. He advocated using the united front as the bridge to mobilize the masses, especially the peasant masses. In order to solve this question, Chairman Mao returned to Shaoshan of Hsiangt'an in Hunan early in 1925 for the purpose of launching the peasants' movement in Hunan himself.

The shift of his central work represented the shift of the orientation of the central work of our Party. This also meant to say that Chairman Mao was the representative of the Party as it went through the course of Party building, the workers' movement, the united front and the peasants' movement.

When Chairman Mao was back in Shaoshan he covered every part of Yint'ienchih, an area several tens of li square. He visited the poor, struck roots among them, and organized more than 20 evening schools for the peasants so as to raise their cultural standard and class consciousness. The first character he taught was "hand" and the second character "leg." He said: "All labor and wealth in the world are performed and created with our pair of hands, but we poor people are not fed and housed and are empty-handed, while the landlords lead a good life....Why? Just think, all of you. We poor people are so poor that we have not a single tile to give us shelter and not enough land for us to stand on. The landlords and the rich people also have a pair of legs, but when they go out, they do not walk and we are required to carry them. Why? Just think, all of you." At that time, the evening school was a very good medium for the education of the peasants. In the area of Shaoshan and Yint'ienchih, Chairman Mao also set up more than 20 peasants' associations for waging struggle against the landlord class.

In the summer of 1925, Chairman Mao established the Party branch at Shaoshan. The first five Party members were fostered and recommended by Chairman Mao himself. They comprised the first batch of peasant Party

members who later became important cadres of the Party and laid down their lives in the revolution. The Party organization at Shaoshan was quite strong. Later, it was run as Hsiangt'an Special District Committee, and 110 Party members were developed. After the failure of the Great Revolution, some of them followed Chairman Mao to other places. For example, Deputy Chief of the General Staff P'eng Shao-hui (彭紹輝) was a native of Shaoshan. Some of them stayed behind, and more than 30 of them laid down their lives.

At the end of August, Chairman Mao left Shaoshan for Changsha. He went to Canton in October to work as editor of the Political Weekly, teacher of the political study group (which was run by Comrade Li Fu-ch'un) and principally director of the National Peasant School.

To tell a story, when Chairman Mao came to Canton in November 1925, he filled in a form which is of some significance and is now exhibited in the museum. This form was issued by the Reorganization Committee of the National Association of Teenage Youth. One question in the form asked: "What doctrine do you believe in at a time China is plagued by internal anxiety and external disorder?" In answer to this question Chairman Mao wrote: "I believe in communism and advocate socialist proletarian revolution." Another question read: "What is your attitude toward the improvement of the business of this Association?" Chairman Mao answered: "There is no unity of views among the members of your Association, and many people are low in spirits. It is better to disband it. Now that the Communist Party of China has been formally established, what role can this association of yours play?" See how straightforward he was and how grand his style of writing was.

This peasant school was also run by Chairman Mao for the purpose of popularizing his Shaoshan experience in launching the peasant movement throughout the Party so that cadres and theories could be prepared for furthering the peasants' movement. "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society" was one of the three courses he taught. This article solved the question that the Chinese revolution must be led by the proletariat. The question of leadership was raised by Chairman Mao. Because Ch'en Tu-hsiu advocated in 1923 that the bourgeoisie should lead the revolutionary proletariat to carry out the bourgeois democratic revolution, Chairman Mao advocated that the Chinese revolution should be led by the proletariat.

This article is extremely rich in content. It says in the beginning that the question of the first importance for the revolution is to distinguish the enemy from ourselves and never to forget the class struggle. Next, it analyzes various classes and draws a dividing line between the enemy and ourselves. Now we must correctly analyze the two kinds of contradictions. We must analyze various classes from various angles and must never forget class analysis. There are five methods of analysis:

(1) To make an analysis of the economic status and political attitude since the political attitude is determined by the economic status.

(2) To make an analysis of the classes in China according to the nature of Chinese society. For example, the working class of China is different from that of other countries because China is a semi-colonial country, and therefore it is oppressed most and poorest. The Chinese workers are weighed down by three great mountains and are naturally linked with the peasants because most workers are insolvent peasants, and although they are in the cities, their homes are in the countryside. The worker-peasant alliance of China has its characteristics. The working class of China is older than the Chinese bourgeoisie because the working class was first developed when the imperialists came to China to run factories. The workers are also concentrated in the coastal cities, and consequently their organization and unity are also at variance. Again, the bourgeoisie comes under two categories, namely, the bureaucrat-bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, in China. The bureaucrat-bourgeoisie is the target of the revolution, while the national bourgeoisie is of dual character in the revolution. This was created by Chairman Mao and is not found in Marxism-Leninism.

(3) It is necessary to analyze the strata of various classes. The peasants are made up of many strata and there are the rich peasants, the middle peasants and the poor peasants. The middle peasants are also divided into the upper, intermediate and lower middle peasants, and among them the poor peasants and hired farmhands are the principal revolutionary forces. The bourgeoisie is also divided into the big bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie, and the petty bourgeoisie is also divided into the Left, the Middle and the Right. In short, the concrete analysis is most meticulous.

(4) It is necessary to analyze the classes according to the situation of the revolution. A class manifests itself in different ways under different kinds of situation and in different periods of time. When the tide of the revolution runs high, the left wing of the petty bourgeoisie joins the revolution, its middle section also takes part in the revolution, and its right wing also goes along with the revolution. When the revolution is at the ebb, the right wing of the petty bourgeoisie runs away to serve as the tail of the bourgeoisie. Therefore, at the time of analyzing classes, we certainly must see things with an eye for development and cannot adopt an inflexible attitude. At present, the bourgeoisie opposes us; it opposed us in different ways in different periods. This was so in 1962 and is also so at present. We certainly must have a correct appraisal of its essence and characteristics since its essence and characteristics will not change.

(5) It is necessary to make an analysis of classes according to the international situation. It is necessary to view the class relations of China on a global scale. In this article Chairman Mao says: "These two major forces have each hoisted a huge banner: One is the red banner of revolution held aloft by the Third International as the rallying point for all the oppressed classes of the world, the other is the white banner of counterrevolution held aloft by the League of Nations as the rallying point

for all the counterrevolutionaries of the world." Under such a circumstance, it was impossible and an illusion for the Chinese bourgeoisie to promote capitalism. The class struggle of China cannot be separated from the international class struggle. For example, after the Polish and Hungarian incidents in 1956 and the 20th Congress of the CPSU, the Chinese bourgeoisie made trouble with us in 1957. When we were beset with difficulties in 1960 and the reactionaries engineered an anti-China chorus in the international arena, the demons and monsters in China were most active. The above is our comprehension of this article, and if we are wrong in any respect, you are requested to criticize it. There is advantage for us to analyze classes from various angles.

In this article, we understand that the four most important questions are:

(1) Never forget the class struggle.

(2) Correctly handle the two types of contradictions.

(3) Make an analysis of classes from various angles.

(4) Firmly bear in mind the general line and general policy of the Party.

One will become a sober revolutionary in this way. This article of Chairman Mao's is the summit of Marxism-Leninism in the analysis of classes. No other Marxist-Leninist article has analyzed classes in colonial and semi-colonial countries in this way. Although the lumpen-proletariat was analyzed in the past by Marxist-Leninists as very destructive, yet Chairman Mao analyzed its dual nature saying: "Brave fighters but apt to be destructive, they can become a revolutionary force if given proper guidance." This was quite unique.

In July 1926, Chairman Mao left Canton for Shanghai. At that time, the revolution was spreading northward, and Chairman Mao went to Shanghai for the purpose of leading the peasant movement of the whole Party because he was Chairman of the National Peasant Movement Guiding Committee. He also went to Kiangsu and Chekiang to observe the peasant movement. Later, he returned to Hankow to carry out work.

In December 1926, the Provincial Congress of Workers and Peasants was convened in Hunan, and Chairman Mao was invited by the Congress to return and join the leadership. At the Congress, Chairman Mao made a number of speeches pointing out that the peasant question was the central question of the national revolution and calling on all people to shift the center to the countryside. Unfortunately, these views were not adopted by Ch'en Tu-hsiu at that time.

In January 1927, Chairman Mao went to Hunan to observe the peasant movement. He covered five hsien in 32 days, and the trip was rather arduous. In March, he published the "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan."

This article is a classic document of the Communist Party of China and the international communist movement in the launching of the peasants' movement. The four main questions are: (1) The central question of the proletarian leadership is the peasant question, and this is the central task of our Party. (2) The class line of the Party in the countryside. (3) The main contents of the struggle of the Party in the countryside: to seize political power and build armed forces. (4) The basic guiding thought of the Party in leading the peasants: to boldly arouse the masses.

Chairman Mao warmly supported, glorified and boldly launched the peasant movement, and he steadfastly criticized and repudiated some fallacies concerning the peasant movement.

This article has a great guiding role to play in our current great cultural revolution--especially in establishing the thoroughgoing mass viewpoint and implementing the mass line.

At that time, this article was published in full in a Hunan journal. In the journal of the Central Committee which was under the control of Right opportunist Ch'en Tu-shiu, only the first part of the article was published, but the last part about the fourteen great achievements was not published. This article waged an all-out struggle against Ch'en Tu-hsiu. Guided by Chairman Mao's correct thought, work to launch the peasant movement in Hunan saw vigorous development. There were then 12 million members of peasants' associations throughout the country, and because there were 5,180,000 members in Hunan, the province became the center of the peasant movement in the whole country.

On July 15, Wang Ching-wei (汪精卫) engineered the counterrevolutionary coup in Hankow. This bourgeois coup was determined by its nature and there was nothing astounding. The most important thing was that because people were not guided by Chairman Mao's correct thought, they could not resist the counterrevolutionary attack. For example, when Hsü K'o-hsiang (许克祥) engineered the "Ma Jih [21st] Incident," the workers were armed at that time, and the peasants of Hsiangt'an had 70,000 javelins in their possession. However, Ch'en Tu-hsiu handed over the arms of the workers' picket detachment to the reactionaries. On the 21st, the reactionaries ordered the disbandment of the Hunan General Trade Union and the Peasant Association, and many of the Communist Party members and the revolutionary masses were slaughtered.

At the time, many Communist Party members had also gone to the countryside to mobilize the masses, and in ten days, that is, on May 31, 100,000 peasants were mobilized to encircle and attack Changsha. The peasants' slogan was: "With shining javelins, the ringleader of the bandits should

first be captured. Overthrow Chiang Kai-shek and capture Hsü K'o-hsiang alive." There were only 2,000 troops in Changsha City then. Changsha was about to fall as the peasants crossed the Laotiao River in the east to a place not far from the present military district and fought their way to Ichiawan in the south. However, Ch'en Tu-shiu became scared. He hurriedly came forward and in the name of the Central Committee, he forbade the peasants to attack Changsha, so that he could negotiate with the bourgeoisie.

The peasants were fooled at the time, and after they withdrew, the reactionaries gained a breathing spell and they carried out a blood-stained suppression against us. In ten days from June 1 through 10, Hsü K'o-hsiang killed 10,000 people in Changsha, and the revolution sustained a serious setback.

Not long afterward, Wang Ching-wei and Chiang Kai-shek joined forces, and the heroic First Revolutionary Civil War ended in failure. From then on, unity was replaced with civil war, democracy was replaced with dictatorship, and light was swallowed up by darkness in China.

The failure of the Chinese revolution was due to the loss of Chairman Mao's correct leadership. The two questions discussed above have fully explained this from the positive and negative sides, and the history of China has also testified to this truth.

The Third Period: The period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War (August 1927 to July 1937).

The central question of the period was to solve the question of China's revolutionary road, the question of the worker-peasant armed forces carving up the country and of encircling cities from the countryside.

After the failure of the revolution, our Party was faced with two questions. The first one was whether or not we dared to carry on the revolution, since the revolution had failed and we were ruthlessly suppressed. When the tide of the revolution ran high, there were close to 70,000 members in our Party. After the failure, a very large number of them had been killed, some were in prison, and some had run away or rebelled. Unable to stand the test, some openly announced their separation from the Chinese Communist Party. Only a little more than ten percent of them were left--in other words, only 7,000 people followed Chairman Mao to carry on the revolution.

Let us give some thought to the number of people killed because the Chinese revolution was not led by Chairman Mao. There were 280,000 trade union members, but only 30,000 or more were left after the failure of the revolution. The peasants' associations had a membership of 12 million, but they were basically dispersed after the failure, and the struggle of the Party suffered great losses. After a number of wars, of the 30,000 or more people who took part in the "August 1" Uprising, only a little more than 1,000 were left. Only several hundred of the seven or eight thousand

men who joined Chairman Mao in the Autumn Harvest Uprising came to the Chingkang Mountains; this also amounted to a loss of 90 percent. Confronted by such a situation, whether or not we dared to carry on the revolution was a very grave test.

Ch'en Tu-hsiu and his ilk were scared to death at that time. Besides making no efforts to carry out the revolution themselves, they also opposed the revolution carried out by other people, thus becoming counter-revolutionaries themselves. They accused the participants in the "Autumn Harvest Uprising" led by Chairman Mao as roving bandits, and they spoke for the bourgeoisie saying: "The bourgeois revolution has been successful and we should help the bourgeoisie consolidate its political power."

At that time, only Chairman Mao stood forth to lead our Party to carry on the heroic struggle. At the risk of his life, he came to Changsha from Hankow to organize the Autumn Harvest Uprising. Chairman Mao was captured by the reactionaries, but he escaped from prison and on a number of occasions he was in danger. Chairman Mao was most loyal to the Party and he held highest the red banner of the revolution. Later, Chairman Mao recalled: "The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people were neither cowed nor conquered nor exterminated. They picked themselves up, wiped off the blood, buried their fallen comrades and went into battle again." In the fall of that year, he led the uprising and unfolded an armed struggle. Chairman Mao's central work at that time was concentrated on the armed struggle. Prior to this, Chairman Mao paid great attention to arming the people--especially arming the peasants and arming the whole Party.

The second question faced was how to carry on the revolution. Since the revolution had failed and the cities proved to be untenable, whither should the revolution be developed? Some people subjectively wanted to make revolution, but they did not know what should be done and they wanted to engineer armed insurrection in the cities. This was wrong. In December, for example, some people engineered the "Hui Jih (10th) Insurrection" in an attempt to come to grips with the enemy. As a result, the Party suffered heavy losses.

It was our Chairman Mao who pointed out for us a bright road to building the armed forces and building base areas in the countryside. Chairman Mao brought together all the people, and he led them to the Chingkang Mountains in October. This then was the Chingkang Mountains phase. The Chingkang Mountains base area was a small place with "a population of less than 2,000 and less than 100 piculs of grain yield." Chairman Mao said: "A single spark can start a prairie fire." Its future development was without bounds.

Later, other areas also followed the example of the Chingkang Mountains. Many insurrections were engineered throughout the country, 15 base areas were established, and the Red Army evolved to become an army of 100,000 men. By 1933, the Workers and Peasants' Red Army had become an

army 300,000 strong, and there were also more than 300,000 Party members. The masses had learned lessons from failures and found the way, and the Chinese revolution grew and progressed once again. From 1930 to 1933, the revolution made great headway, and the Red Army was built from scratch.

Chairman Mao was the creator, organizer and ingenious commander of our Red Army, and he beat the encirclement of the enemy again and again. The revolutionary path was opened up under the leadership of Chairman Mao.

However, as the revolution moved forward, it was raided once again by Right opportunism. In 1931, Wang Ming (王明) worked in cities in the White Area, and he was unable to keep a single organization intact. In 1933, the Central Committee was removed to the Soviet Area. It ousted Chairman Mao's leadership--especially his leadership in the Red Army. Chairman Mao was removed from the offices of Secretary to the Central Bureau of the Soviet Area, General Political Commissar to the Red Army and Secretary to the Front Committee of the Red Army, and the only chairmanship he was allowed to retain was a nominal appointment. This brought a serious defeat to the revolution. During the 5th counter-encirclement-and-suppression campaign in 1933, the struggle lasted one year from October 1933 to October 1934, but without Chairman Mao's leadership, it failed to smash the enemy attack.

The Long March began in October that year. At the beginning of the Long March, there were 80,000 men in the Central Soviet Area. By January 1935, only three months afterward, the Red Army was reduced to a little more than 30,000 men due to the erroneous leadership of Wang Ming. At the time, the Red Army was in a most difficult environment and the Chinese revolution faced a new danger. During this period, Chairman Mao worked painstakingly to persuade his comrades, and the majority of them woke up. When the Tsunyi Conference was convened in January 1935, Wang Ming was removed from leadership, and Chairman Mao was affirmed as the leader of the whole Party. The Tsunyi Conference was convened at the darkest hour. It also was the beginning of victory and because of Chairman Mao's leadership, we advanced from victory to victory.

After the Tsunyi Conference, under the correct leadership of Chairman Mao, our Red Army advanced from North Kweichow to Yunnan and Northeast Yunnan. Chiang Kai-shek hurriedly sent troops from Szechwan and Kweichow to build fortifications along the river so as to block the thrust of the Red Army to the west. He also ordered the Central Army to rush several hundred thousand troops from Hunan to tail us. At the time, the Red Army moved eastward back to North Kweichow and occupied Tsunyi City once again. It wiped out at one stroke the greater part of the two divisions under the Kweichow warlords and the two reinforcement divisions of Chiang Kai-shek's Central Army, thus winning the first battle since the Long March.

Following this, the Red Army moved into South Szechwan again. Thinking that the Red Army was about to cross the Yangtze River, Chiang Kai-shek hurriedly sent troops to build fortifications along the river in an attempt

to wipe out the Red Army along the southern bank of the Yangtze River. However, the Red Army suddenly returned from South Szechwan to Kweichow, crossed the Wu River by force, and made a thrust toward Kweiyang. It also sent troops to attack the east part of Kweichow. Fearing that we might return to Hunan from Kweichow, Chiang Kai-shek who was in Kweiyang to supervise the battle hurriedly sent troops to seal off the Hunan-Kweichow border. At the same time, he also ordered the Yunnan troops to come to the aid of Kweiyang.

The main force of the Red Army moved southwestward, and seeing that Yunnan was short of troops, it thrust straight into Yunnan. In Yunnan, the Red Army attacked and captured 19 hsien cities one after another, and Kunming was menaced. While Chiang Kai-shek and the Yunnan warlords concentrated all their troops in Kunming and were on the defensive, the Red Army headed straight for the Chinsha River. By that time,the Red Army had jumped clear of the ring of encirclement comprising several hundred thousand enemy troops and won a victory of decisive significance in the Long March. This was the outcome of Chairman Mao's wise command. That is why we say that with Chairman Mao, the revolution is ever victorious.

The Long March as a whole was very rich in content. I am going to wind up this period today by talking about a poem called The Long March. Chairman Mao is not only a great Marxist-Leninist, but also a great man of letters. The Long March was a great event that lasted one year and covered a distance of 25,000 li, but it took Chairman Mao only eight lines to cover the whole course. He wrote:

> The Red Army fears not the trials of a distant march;
> To them a thousand mountains, ten thousand rivers are nothing;
> To them the Five Ridges ripple like little waves,
> And the mountain peaks of Wumeng roll by like mud balls.
> Warm are the cloud-topped cliffs washed by the River of Golden Sand,
> Cold are the iron chains that span the Tatu River.
> The myriad snows of Minshan only make them happier,
> And when the Army has crossed, each face is smiling.

"The Red Army fears not the trials of a distant march; to them a thousand mountains, ten thousand rivers are nothing." These two lines form the program of the Long March. At the time, there were scores of reconnaissance bombers in the sky, and the Red Army was encircled, pursued and intercepted by several hundred thousand troops. On the way, numerous hardships and deprivations were encountered. But under the leadership of Chairman Mao, the Red Army feared not the trials of a distant march, and the crux was found in the two words "fear not." With the leadership of Chairman Mao, there was no difficulty our fighters could not surmount, no citadel they could not storm and breach, and no enemy they could not match. Displaying the spirit of making the rivers give way and the mountains bow their heads, they regarded crossing a thousand mountains and ten thousand rivers as a common place feat of little significance not worthy of mention. This was the spiritual outlook of the Red Army at that time.

"To them the Five Ridges ripple like little waves, and the mountain peaks of Wumeng roll by like mud balls." During the Long March the first mountains which the Red Army crossed were the Five Ridges that extend several thousand li along the borders of Hunan, Kiangsi, Kwangtung and Kwangsi. The Long March of the Red Army passed through these mountains, but under the feet of Chairman Mao and his fighters, the Five Ridges were as small as the sand grains in the river, and the tall peaks were as insignificant as the little waves. After traversing the Five Ridges, the Red Army came to the Wumeng Mountains. The Wumeng Mountains run across Yunnan and Kweichow and look majestic. But in the eyes of Chairman Mao and his fighters, the tall mountain peaks were as insignificant as mud balls. Because the Red Army marched at the rate of between 100 and 200 li a day, the peaks just rolled by like mud balls as it marched from one peak to another. This showed precisely the lofty stature of the Red Army and that it regarded the crossing of a thousand mountains as nothing. It also showed that the Red Army marched at a high speed and covered the distance of 25,000 li within one year.

"Warm are the cloud-topped cliffs washed by the River of Golden Sand, cold are the iron chains that span the Tatu River." The River of Golden Sand, that is the Chinsha River, is a torrential river and its water washes the cliffs that rise into the clouds on both banks. Crossing the River of Golden Sand was a dangerous mission, but the Red Army only used a few small boats to cross the river in nine days and nights. At the time, the enemy sent a "dare-to-die" corps after us. This enemy corps was very wicked. Chairman Mao hit back and wiped out five regiments of the enemy in an ambush. After we crossed over, we destroyed all the boats, and the enemy could do nothing else. From then on, we broke away from the enemy. After crossing the River of Golden Sand, we came to the Luting Bridge. We were on the southern bank while the enemy was on the northern bank. Comrade Lin Piao led five regiments of the First Army to seize this bridge. When they came to the southern bank after covering 240 li in eighteen hours, the enemy had already removed all the wooden planks on the bridge and only a few iron chains were left. We sent 22 fighters to force the Luting Bridge. Their spirit of risking certain death for the revolution struck terror into the enemy and manifested the revolutionary heroic bearing of our army.

"The myriad snows of Minshan only make them happier, and when the Army has crossed, each face is smiling." Minshan lies along the border of Szechwan and Sikang. Marching in the snowy mountains where the air was thin proved to be most difficult. There was nothing to eat, and moving along slowly, the fighters took more than 30 days to cross the snowy mountains. Chairman Mao used the word "happier" to indicate that since the snowy mountains could be conquered, there was nothing else we could not conquer. With the word "happier" added, it was clear that the Red Army not only feared not the hardship of crossing the snowy mountains but also enjoyed the magnificent scenes there, thus manifesting the optimistic spirit of the Red Army. "And when the Army has crossed, each face is smiling." After crossing Minshan, the Long March was drawing to the close, and with North Shensi in sight, the fighters were full of smiles as they waited for the beginning of a new phase. The poem written by Chairman Mao shows that he has a literary gift.

After Chairman Mao came to North Shensi, there were only 30,000 men left, and some people began to feel pessimistic. Chairman Mao said: "We are not weaker because we have gained experience." He then wrote many articles, thus raising the Marxist-Leninist level of the whole Party and enabling our Party to get steeled in various respects and to mature politically.

The Fourth Period: The period of the war of resistance against Japan (1937 to September 1945). The central theme of this period was that Chairman Mao organized and led the anti-Japanese national united front to carry out the war of resistance against Japan, thus enabling the victory against Japan to become a victory for the people.

At the beginning of the war of resistance against Japan, in terms of balance of forces, the enemy had four million men, the Kuomintang had three million men, while we had between 30,000 and 40,000 men. The war of resistance against Japan was a contest of strength between the three forces, and confronted by such a situation, our task was to organize a united front to win victory. At that time, Wang Ming had nothing but scorn for our own strength. He thought that we were inferior to the Kuomintang and that the war of resistance must be led by the Kuomintang. Chairman Mao said: "These 30,000 men of ours are not weaker but stronger than our 300,000 men in the past. The Chinese people are entirely in a position to wage the war, and only the Chinese Communist Party can lead the war of resistance against Japan."

After war began, our Party put forward ten great anti-Japanese programs. Chairman Mao said that there were two lines to take in resisting Japan, one being the line of unity, and the other the line of capitulation. At that time, Chairman Mao formulated a series of policies. For example, "the policy of developing the progressive forces, winning over the middle forces and opposing the diehard forces in the united front." The "policy of three haves" was aimed at waging struggle "with good reason, with advantage and with restraint" in the united front, opposing Wang Ming's capitulationist line, and firmly adhering to the correct line of our Party. This teaching is very important for us to form a united front with the bourgeoisie today.

After the founding of the people's republic, some people carried out the capitulationist line and lauded the bourgeoisie to the skies. In the final analysis, are we supposed to reform them or to be reformed by them? It is now very clear that they could not run education without the professors, and they basically did not hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, implement the class line of the Party, or bring proletarian politics to the fore.

In military struggle, the policy of independence was laid down. Guerrilla warfare was waged in the mountains, and the masses were extensively mobilized to wage guerrilla warfare in the enemy rear. Of course, positional warfare that could be fought to our advantage was also not given up. During this period, Chairman Mao wrote many articles, e.g., "On Protracted War," "Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan," "Problems of War and Strategy," etc.

Great headway was also made in Party building and the rectification campaign was carried out. It was in this period that Chairman Mao's three magic weapons made their power felt.

During this period, there was the struggle between the two lines within the Party. The chief struggle was with opportunist Wang Ming. From 1937 through 1940, the army grew to 500,000 strong, large numbers of base areas were built, and Party forces were developed on a large scale. Some places were influenced by Wang Ming into opposing Chairman Mao's thought, thus greatly affecting the development of the Party.

For example, Chairman Mao's article "On Protracted War" was the culmination of Marxist-Leninist military writings telling how the oppressed proletariat carried out the military struggle. It created a stir in the international arena, and was reproduced by many newspapers and periodicals. In the journal of the Communist International someone declared: "Never in history has anyone discussed so thoroughly the military problems and the problems of war. This is epoch-making writing." However, Wang Ming did not publish it in the newspaper of the Yangtze River Bureau (he was Secretary of the Yangtze River Bureau at that time). When the Central Committee asked him why he didn't publish the article, he replied: "The article is too long and cannot be published." The Central Committee said: "If the article is too long for one issue, it can be divided into a number of installments for publication." Instead of publishing this article, Wang Ming later published an article saying: "The war of resistance against Japan will last four years at most. Anyone who says that the war of resistance is a protracted one must have an ulterior object in view." His basis of argument was that no nation fought more than four years in the First World War, and therefore we also could win after four years of fighting. He stood opposed to Chairman Mao in this way.

At the time, Japanese imperialism occupied only some big cities and lines of communication. Chairman Mao told Wang Ming to go to the countryside to mobilize the masses and to build base areas in the countryside. The latter refused because he liked to engineer heroic and dynamic mass movements in the cities. He basically did not go to the countryside to mobilize the masses and he only aspired to engineer riots in the cities.

At the time, but for the fact that the Yangtze River Bureau was under the control of Wang Ming, Chairman Mao's line would have been carried out successfully, and base areas would have been established along the Yangtze River. The revolutionary forces would have grown so tremendously that Chiang Kai-shek basically could not come down from his mountain stronghold after the victory of the war of resistance against Japan. An excellent revolutionary situation was thus lost. Later, at the 6th Plenum of the Party Central Committee held in October 1938, Wang Ming's mistakes were criticized and repudiated and the position of Chairman Mao was affirmed.

At the meeting, Chairman Mao delivered the report "Problems of War and Strategy" pointing out that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.

Later, Hsiang Ying (項英) of the Central Plain Bureau did not heed what Chairman Mao said, nor did he relay Chairman Mao's instructions south of the lower reaches of the Yangtze River. Prior to the South Anhwei Incident, he told the Kuomintang the route to the north. He trusted the enemy but not the Party, and as a result, seven enemy divisions comprising more than 80,000 men suddenly launched an attack. The New Fourth Army had to take up the gauntlet in a hurry, and after seven days of fighting, it lost more than 9,000 men. At the time, because Comrade Ch'en I had relayed Chairman Mao's instructions north of the lower reaches of the Yangtze River, the troops there suffered no losses. Everybody was greatly shaken by this incident, and the fact that those who did not follow Chairman Mao's instructions would suffer taught everybody a great lesson.

The war of resistance against Japan was carried out by us under extremely difficult conditions. Because we were attacked and blockaded by the Japanese, puppet and Kuomintang troops--especially because of the ruthless mopping-up campaign carried out by the enemy in the liberated areas in 1941 through 1942--we were so short of supplies that for a time we were almost out of clothing, edible oil, paper and vegetables. The fighters had to go without shoes and socks, and the work personnel had no quilts for the winter....We relied on Mao Tsetung thought to win victory under such conditions.

Especially after the rectification campaign, our forces were developed on an ever bigger scale. At the beginning of the war of resistance against Japan, our army had only 40,000 men, but after the victory of the war, it was 1.2 million strong. More than ten liberated areas comprising a population of 130 million had been established. There were more than one million Party members and more than two million militiamen. We wiped out more than 1.7 million Japanese troops and also beat the three anti-Japanese campaigns of the Kuomintang.

During the war of resistance against Japan, Chairman Mao led a hard life like other people. He took part in reclaiming land for production, and put on coarse garments patched in many places.

The war of resistance against Japan was long and large in scale. The struggle was most complex and arduous. It was also the first anti-imperialist war in which the Chinese people won complete victory. From this, it is also entirely possible to prove that any enemy can be beaten under the guidance of Mao Tsetung thought. The victory of the war of resistance against Japan greatly inspired the people all over the world. It is therefore said that the victory of the war of resistance against Japan was a victory for Mao Tsetung thought.

At that time, Mao Tsetung thought had greatly developed, and of the four volumes now published, two volumes were written during the war of resistance against Japan. In those arduous years, Chairman Mao exerted every ounce of strength for the Chinese people. It was said that when Chairman Mao sat down to write, he put a rock on his desk, and when his hand was benumbed with

continuous writing, he squeezed the rock with his hand for relaxation. Comrades, how touching it is whenever we think of Chairman Mao's working spirit.

The Fifth Period: The period of the Third Revolutionary Civil War (September 1945 to September 1949).

The principal objective of this period was to destroy utterly the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang, to seize political power all over the country, to topple old China and to build a new China. To put it simply, this meant to solve the question of political power. We must learn well Chairman Mao's thought on daring to struggle, good at struggle and daring to win. This period was one in which Mao Tsetung thought was fully implemented and brought into play.

The period from September 1945 to September 1946 was the stage of transition from one war to another. Our task was to safeguard the fruit of victory, to shift all efforts toward meeting the domestic struggle, and to make preparations for fighting a civil war. The struggle of this period was very complex. We countered the two counterrevolutionary tactics with the two revolutionary tactics, dared to struggle and were good at struggle.

At that time, Chairman Mao paid two visits to Chungking with the object of educating the people and exposing the conspiracy of the enemy. The mission was a very dangerous one, and when he was in Chungking, his house was surrounded by secret agents. The people all over the country had anxiety for his safety. Some democrats were impressed by Chairman Mao's "great courage," and they praised his trip to Chungking as "a personal attempt to clarify the destiny of the country." The hope was pinned on the Chinese Communist Party. Because Chairman Mao went to Chungking, our work won the support of the people all over the country and we were in a position affording initiative.

Then, the Kuomintang engineered many plots, but because Chairman Mao stood firm and made flexible use of his tactics, he saw through the enemy and won victory in the struggle. This quite impressed people of other countries. Some comrades of Italy declared: "After the Second World War, our Party had also armed forces under its control, but the Party leaders traded their troops for offices in negotiations. As a result, they got nothing and cast away the fruits won by the people." What about us? At no time did we hand over our armed forces. Chairman Mao declared: "We do not want to be officials with our hands tied down. We only want offices in which we are given a free hand...." He also said: "Every gun and bullet of the people's armed forces must be retained and cannot be handed over." This meant to say the Communist Party must stay independent. Looking back, the history was complex at that time and the enemy was extremely crafty, but our Chairman Mao feared nothing and was able to see through everything.

At the time, the enemy was on the offensive but we won the battle. In September 1945, when Yen Hsi-shan (閻錫山) came to invade Shangtang, we wiped out at one stroke 35,000 men under him. In October, Chiang Kai-shek

also sent Kao Shu-hsün (高树勋) to invade the Shansi-Hopei-Shantung liberated area along the Peiping-Hankow Railway. We wiped out more than 70,000 men under him at the Hantan area and won victory in the military struggle.

In short, great victories were won both on the front of struggle by reasoning and the front of struggle by force during this period.

During the period from July 1946 through July 1947, our task was to smash the enemy attacks against key sectors. Swaggering like a conquering hero, the enemy troops, 4.3 million strong, were very ferocious. There were only 1.3 million men in our Liberation Army. Marked by such a great disparity in the balance of forces, the Kuomintang reactionaries declared that it would take only three to six months to defeat the People's Liberation Army. Before Chiang Kai-shek launched his frenzied attack, Chairman Mao pointed out: "All reactionaries are paper tigers." The superiority of Chiang Kai-sheks' military strength was only a temporary phenomenon, a factor playing a transient role. Chairman Mao's instruction armed the Chinese people ideologically, and strengthened their confidence in victory. The enemy attacks against key sectors were swiftly smashed, and 1.2 million troops of the Kuomintang were wiped out, thus enabling our army to assume the offensive and laying down the foundation for our army to wipe out in toto the enemy army and win final victory (the strategic policy in the second year of the liberation war).

The stage of strategic offensive from July 1947 through December 1948 was concerned with how to mobilize the masses on a broad front and to wipe out the main forces of the Kuomintang. This period was principally devoted to the offensive. We wiped out 470,000 enemy troops in the Liaohsi-Shenyang Campaign, 555,000 enemy troops in the Huaihai Campaign and 520,000 enemy troops in the Peiping-Tientsin Campaign, totaling more than 1.5 million enemy troops. Chairman Mao laid down the general policy and made concrete arrangements for these three great campaigns. One thing should be mentioned here. Only 330,000 enemies were wiped out in the Battle of Stalingrad, the biggest campaign in the Second World War, but the number of enemies wiped out in every campaign led by Chairman Mao exceeded the number wiped out in the Battle of Stalingrad. The victory of the three great campaigns was a great victory for Chairman Mao's strategic and tactical thought, the outcome of the wise direction of the supreme commander Chairman Mao.

The period from January 1949 through September 1949 was principally devoted to carrying the revolution through to the end and shifting the democratic revolution onto the orbit of socialist revolution. The 1949 New Year's Day editorial "Carry the Revolution Through to the End" was written by Chairman Mao himself. He wrote many articles during this period, and the articles "On the War Criminals Suing for Peace," "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," "Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle," etc., all dealt with this question.

The whole liberation war lasted four years if counted from 1946. It lasted only three years if counted from 1947. During the period we wiped out a total of 8,070,000 enemies, averaging two million enemies per year. This was without precedent in history. We relied on but 1.2 million men. This fully showed the inexhaustible power and greatness of Mao Tsetung thought which could be translated into a tremendous material force.

During this time, the aid granted by US imperialism to Chiang Kai-shek amounted to six billion dollars. They had heavy guns and tanks, but we relied on Mao Tsetung thought and millet plus rifles. All this failed to retrieve the Kuomintang from defeat. All of our equipment was delivered by them, and "credit" must be given to the commanders of their transport brigades.

On October 1, 1949, Chairman Mao announced to the whole world from the top of the Gate of Heavenly Peace the founding of new China. We had won. Since the Opium War of 1840, after fighting 109 years for the overthrow of the three big mountains that weighed them down the Chinese people had won the war under the leadership of Chairman Mao. All difficulties in the eighty or more years before the founding of the Chinese Communist Party were not as great as those of the past 28 years, and but for the guidance of Chairman Mao's thought, we could not have won.

Two and a half-million people were massacred by the reactionaries during the revolution of the T'ai P'ing T'ien Kuo. How did things stand then and how do things stand now? From this historical fact, we can see that the people of the whole country support and cherish the Party and Chairman Mao deep in their hearts. The Hot'ien Administrative District Song and Dance Ensemble of Sinkiang was formed with comrades of minority nationalities in Sinkiang. When they came to visit Shaoshan, they wrote a poem in the visitor's book to show their ardent love for Chairman Mao. This poem read: "Even if the blue sky were turned into paper and all people in the world were turned into poets, a complete eulogy of Chairman Mao's kindness to us could not be given." Some comrades said: "There are many bitter things in the world, and the most bitter thing is the old society. There are many sweet things in the world, and the sweetest thing is Chairman Mao's leading us to shake off the feudal yoke." This fully showed their sincere affection for the Party and Chairman Mao.

The Sixth Period: The period of national economic rehabilitation (October 1949 to December 1952).

The central question of this period was to shift the democratic revolution into the orbit of socialist revolution, to heal the war wounds and to do a good job in making preparations for socialist transformation and socialist construction. On the one hand, it was necessary to accomplish the tasks left over from the democratic revolution, e.g., agrarian reform, and on the other hand, it was necessary to carry out the socialist revolution. The agrarian reform enabled 300 million peasants to shake off the feudal yoke and obtain 700 million mow of land. The peasants thus owned their land for the

first time. During this period of time, we also carried the "san fan" and "wu fan" movements and movements for "suppression of counterrevolutionaries" and "remolding the intellectuals."

The "resist-US, aid-Korea" campaign was launched outside the country. This was an important event and let me talk about it briefly. At the time of the "resist-US, aid-Korea" campaign, the United States was the one and only country possessing atomic bombs. It produced 70 million tons of steel per annum and had made war preparations for a long time. It mustered sixteen nations to launch the war of aggression against Korea, and the spearhead was actually directed against China. Our people's republic was founded less than a year ago, and our steel output amounted to only 150,000 tons at the time. We had been at war for 22 years in succession, and the greatly undermined national economy had not been rehabilitated. At the time, it was necessary for five persons to share the food for three, the regime had not been consolidated over wide areas, conditions were far from good, and the situation was rather critical. Under such circumstances, Chairman Mao led us to send troops abroad to carry out the resist-US, aid-Korea war. Chairman Mao said: "The important factor of victory in war is people, not things, because the true strength lies in the people." Chairman Mao then formulated a series of correct policies for the resist-US, aid-Korea war and made the war end in victory. In the three years long war, we wiped out 1,090,000 enemies, including 397,000 US imperialist troops, and brought down or hit 12,000 planes.

The United States had a part to play in the two world wars, and its casualties stood at 330,000 in the First World War and 900,000 in the Second World War. During the resist-US, aid-Korea campaign, the number of its soldiers we wiped out in so small a country was 60,000 greater than its casualties in the First World War, and we also beat it completely, thus greatly heightening our will to fight and dampening the arrogance of the enemy. This showed the invincibility of the army led by Chairman Mao and the enormous role of the spirit. The victory in this war shook the ruling clique of the United States and brought it numerous internal contradictions. At a conference of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Chairman Bradley said: "We have fought the wrong war at the wrong time in the wrong place against the wrong enemy." They have of course not learned the lessons of history, as they are still making mistakes in Vietnam. This time they are heavily hit and many people have been killed. They have brought into action two-thirds of their Army, Navy and Air Force, and apart from atomic bombs, they have put all weapons to use, but they are unable to reverse their tragic defeat.

US imperialism was beaten for the first time by socialist countries in the resist-US, aid-Korea war. This once again showed that US imperialism is a paper tiger. MacArthur, Commander of the US forces of aggression against China, said: "US forces certainly cannot go into China, otherwise they will be unable to get out." Clark said: "I am the first general of the United States who affixes his signature on an agreement without winning the war."

The Seventh Period: The period of the First 5-Year Plan and socialist transformation (January 1953 to December 1957). This classification may not

be appropriate in the political sense. The principal question of this period was to promote simultaneously socialist transformation and socialist construction with emphasis on socialist transformation. During this period the "three great transformation were successfully accomplished."

During the period of the First Five-Year Plan, Chairman Mao published many important articles, e.g., "The Question of Agricultural Cooperation," "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People," and "Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work." At the time of leading cooperation, Chairman Mao toured the countryside of the whole country. When compiling The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside, Chairman Mao wrote introductory notes to 104 articles. He revised over and over again the introductory notes to the articles "Who Says a Chicken Feather Can't Fly Up to Heaven" and "The Orientation of Cooperation." Some comrades have seen these revised manuscripts in the Museum. The space for the introductory note is heavily annotated, and some words are struck out with red or blue ink. Having seen these revised manuscripts, some correspondents said: "As journalists concerned with writing, the way Chairman Mao revises articles word by word, including the punctuation marks, merits our study." Although Chairman Mao was more than sixty years old, he still worked for us by revising articles word by word in the evening. This truly displayed his high degree of responsibility.

The Eighth Period: The period of the Second and Third Five-Year Plans (1959 to 1966).

This period is strong in content. Since all of you are also well acquainted with it, you are relied on to sum it up. The most important thing is to hold high the "three red banners"--the general line, the great leap forward and the people's commune; to carry out the three great revolutions--class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment, including the political and ideological revolution for the purpose of overcoming the serious natural calamities that struck China in consecutive years. At present, the heroic great cultural revolution that knows no precedent in history is being launched.

In the international arena, we are mainly concerned with supporting and aiding the national struggle for democracy and liberation of the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples, supporting and aiding the struggle of the proletariat in the capitalist countries, opposing imperialism headed by US imperialism and opposing revisionism with the Soviet revisionist leading group as its center.

Broadly speaking, the period of socialist construction and socialist revolution extends from the sixth period to the eighth period, and we are mainly concerned with grasping three questions. Great achievements have been made in construction, and the progress from 150,000 tons of steel to the explosion of three atomic bombs is no mean achievement.

The explosion of atomic bombs by China was a great world event. Under what conditions were our atomic bombs made? They were made under difficult conditions in 1960 when China had been struck by natural calamities for three

years in succession, and the revisionists were frenziedly opposed to China and had torn up several hundred agreements for construction. It was said that our atomic bombs were quite high standard and were made with uranium 235. The American people said that our bombs were of a standard much higher than their first bomb. (This year, we also have successfully experimented with the launching of a guided missile with a nuclear warhead.) Therefore, Chairman Mao said: "We Chinese people have noble aspirations and are dignified." Regardless of how strong the enemy may be, the Chinese people led by Chairman Mao will not bow to him. You can add concrete things in your talks.

We are mainly concerned with grasping three questions. The first question is taking the class struggle as the key link. Chairman Mao has taught us again and again that at the time of carrying out the socialist revolution and socialist construction, we must never forget the class struggle. Once this is violated, we would lose our bearings and soul, and problems would arise. Our socialist revolution has two fronts--the material front and the spiritual front. But the fundamental one is the spiritual front.

At the 2nd Plenum of the 7th CCP Central Committee, Chairman Mao stated that the Chinese revolution had two contradictions, one being the contradiction between the Chinese people and imperialism, the other, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. He warned us in the nick of time that the "sugar-coated cannon-balls" of the bourgeoisie would be most dangerous to the proletariat and admonished us never to forget this. However, this was forgetten by some people, and because of the "san fan" and "wu fan" campaigns launched by Chairman Mao, they were brought to their senses.

After the three great transformations, the memory faded again in the minds of some people and they had their heads turned by the gongs and drums of the bourgeoisie. In 1957, the bourgeois rightists launched a frenzied attack. Chairman Mao led us to carry out the anti-rightist struggle, thus sharpening our eyes. After we launched the great leap forward in 1958, we again launched the struggle against the right opportunists in 1959.

When the national economy encountered difficulties in 1960, because all people concentrated their efforts in construction, the demons and monsters flocked forward. At the 10th Plenum of the CCP Central Committee in 1962, Chairman Mao told us once again that we must never forget the class struggle.

In the current great cultural revolution, we can see how the enemy has dealt with us. You may recall how education has been run! Chairman Mao has said that we must foster successors for the proletariat, but how many universities have now implemented this idea of Chairman Mao's? How many universities are truly led by our Party? None that we know of. At present, some students despise the peasants after their graduation from a junior middle school; they despise the workers after their graduation from a senior middle school; and they despise the cadres after their graduation from a university. They are divorced from us once they go to university. "We are mental workers" and so they despise the manual workers.

In the Hunan Normal College, some students were still quite all right in the first year, but they got more and more muddle-headed year after year. There was a school girl who disowned her poor-peasant father. This old peasant worked diligently in order to send his daughter to school. He was very grateful to the Party and Chairman Mao for their fostering of his daughter. He wanted very much to come and see his daughter since she had gone to university a number of years. When he came to the university, however, the daughter never walked together with her father and always kept some distance from him. When other people asked her who he was, instead of telling them that he was her father, she said that he was a neighbor. You can see what this student has become after going to school a number of years.

As I see it, the running of universities in cities is the question at issue, and they ought to be run in the countryside. Why is it that people are unwilling to return to the countryside after their coming to the city to study? Since they are drawing farther and farther away from the laboring people, this is no way to foster our own successors. What will be the outcome if this battle front is not grasped? Can education be permitted to stand aloof from labor and proletarian politics? Can we permit a normal school to teach the "Evening Talks at Yenan" instead of Chairman Mao's works?

Next, how many of our films are devoted to the propagation of Mao Tsetung thought? Very few, I think, but many of them advertize the bourgeoisie, the landlord class and the Kuomintang. For example, we have such poisonous weeds as Beleaguered City, Press-Ganging, One Thousand Leagues in a Headwind and Nightless City. The film Nightless City advertizes that the bourgeoisie builds its fortune through labor and takes good care of the workers. The cost of this film is very high because it was shot in color with a good cast. The film Third Sister of the Liu Family is also problematical. Can a girl topple a landlord with her songs and is there any landlord who is so easy to struggle against? As to the film Girl Basket-Ball No. 5, which of the leading players of that basket-ball team is the daughter of a peasant or worker? They all belong to the petty bourgeoisie, and their way of life is that of the bourgeoisie. In order to manifest the success of the girl basket-ball team, a mess is make of the workers' team. Why are things arranged in this way by its author? The film Song of Youth is also problematical. Chairman Mao says that the intellectuals must form one with and be transformed by the workers and peasants. But this film portrays not the transformation of the intellectuals by the workers and peasants, but the transformation of us by the intellectuals. The workers also play only the supporting role. In the past, plays were written by scriptwriters at random to further the interests of their own class. Therefore, no matter what we do, we must analyze things with the class viewpoint, otherwise we would be fooled.

The second question is the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit. We must learn from Chairman Mao his thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit in all fields, including the political, ideological, military, cultural and technical fronts--with the production front embodied in the technical front. We must learn the lesson of the Soviet Union. Chairman Mao has summed up experience in the international communist movement. It is especially necessary to grasp

firmly the politico-ideological front and the cultural front. We must now consider many questions afresh.

We must carry out destruction and construction on a large scale. We must run all undertakings with Mao Tsetung thought, criticize and repudiate everything with Mao Tsetung thought, and reassess the world. We must overthrow those bourgeois "authorities." Those "authorities" think much of themselves, but actually they are not authorities and only the workers, peasants and soldiers who have mastered Mao Tsetung thought are authorities. The authority of the former is a fake because they do not know how to till land, how to refine steel and how to fight a battle. They don't even know the acreage for mechanized farming and that labor creates the world. We have reasons to despise these authorities. They are unable to learn well Chairman Mao's writings and to master truth. They learn at sight but the knowledge is forgotten once it is put aside, and they make mistakes when they put their knowledge into application. The workers, peasants and soldiers learn at sight, they apply at once what they have learned, and through application they translate knowledge into an enormous material force. Therefore, we must exert ourselves in the study of Chairman Mao's works right away since the cultural revolution is a movement for the study of Chairman Mao's writings.

As things stand at the moment, the revolution appears to be extraordinarily arduous on the politico-ideological front. We must build a communist society and this is our objective. We certainly must learn well Chairman Mao's thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit. For many old comrades, the question is to uphold their revolutionary integrity in their late years and to carry the revolution through to the end. Some people were meritorious statesmen in the past but are principal criminals today. Because they cannot carry the revolution through to the end, their past service is but a false appearance. We certainly must carry the revolution through to the end and forever follow Chairman Mao and the Communist Party.

The third question is to launch the mass movement on a large scale. Chairman Mao relies on the trusts the masses in all things. Since the founding of the people's republic, has there been any movement in which the masses were not thoroughly mobilized? This is Chairman Mao's consistent teaching, an important aspect of our comprehension of Chairman Mao's thought. I have played a part in the four cleanups campaign as well as the work team in the great cultural revolution. Comrades who have some knowledge of the work teams would appreciate what I say.

Some people are always fond of issuing orders and are poor in learning from the masses. They always like to guide the masses with conventions, but are unwilling to let the masses educate them. When the masses advance views different from theirs, they resort to repression and attack. As a result, they have hit the Left and committed mistakes. Some of our work teams play not the role of staff officers but that of nurses. How can other people learn to walk if you always fear that something untoward would occur? The four cleanups campaign has to rely on the masses in production brigades. We go there in order to learn something. The mass movement is launched because we want to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results. Therefore, we must study once again Chairman Mao's writings in the cultural revolution. We must study Chairman Mao's elaboration concerning the mass

line. The masses are our teachers, our mothers, and we are their pupils, their children. We cannot regard ourselves as lords once we are in office. We certainly must comprehend better and truly grasp the viewpoint of the masses.

Given above is an account of how consistently wise, correct and great Chairman Mao is and of the victory of Mao Tsetung thought. Chairman Mao is leading us to surmount one difficulty after another and to advance from victory to victory. Chairman Mao is our great teacher, great leader, great commander and great helmsman. Mao Tsetung thought is the culmination of contemporary Marxism-Leninism.

Only a part--in fact, less than 1 percent--has been told above, and you may add all you know.

(IV) The People of the Whole World Warmly Love Chairman Mao

(Text under this part omitted)

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